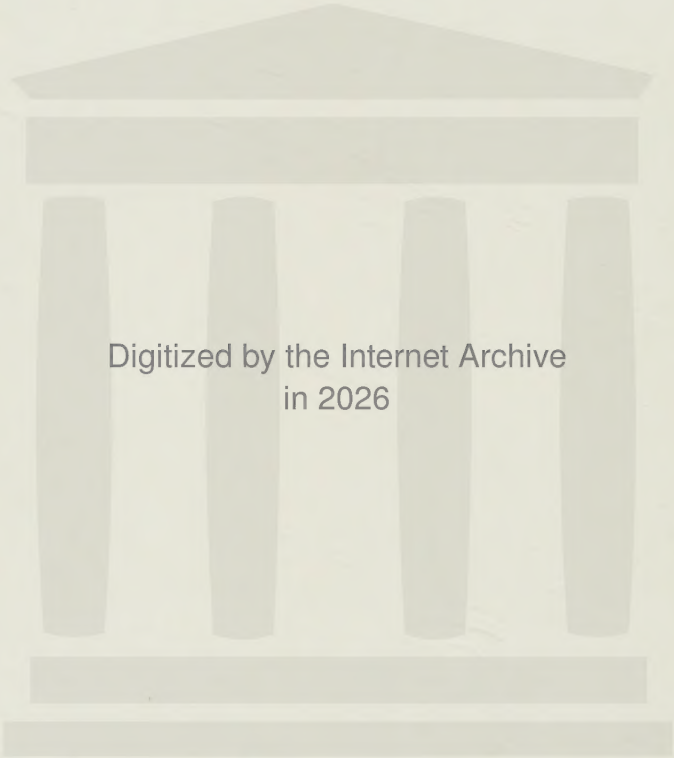
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To our regret, we have noticed that a serious mistake was made on pages 189 and 190, in as much as the pagination and the content were reversed. This error can easily be ascertained by comparing the Note numbers on the two pages.

EDITORS

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OF THE

AMERICAN ACADEMY FOR JEWISH RESEARCH

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INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

The AMERICAN ACADEMY FOR JEWISH RESEARCH was organized in the autumn of 1919 and formally established on June 15, 1920. Its purpose is to foster and promote the cause of Jewish learning and research. The ACADEMY endeavors to achieve this end through:

1. The holding of periodical meetings at which learned papers are presented and discussed.
2. The formulation and carrying into effect of scholarly undertakings of a cooperative character.
3. The issuance of publications.
4. The promotion of relations of fellowship and cooperation between scholars and learned organizations in the United States and those in other countries.
5. The furnishing of opinions upon scholarly projects submitted to the ACADEMY.
6. Such other means as may, from time to time, be determined by the ACADEMY.

The ACADEMY was incorporated under the laws of Maryland on December 20, 1929.

The first public meeting was held at The Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York City on December 27, 1928. Since that time annual meetings of members have been held in the last week of December, as well as special meetings of Fellows throughout the year.

In June 1933 the ACADEMY established a Research Fellowship for a displaced foreign scholar, and since then has maintained other Research Fellowships and has also contributed to the support of Jewish scholars resident abroad.

REPORT OF THE YEAR 1977

The forty-ninth annual meeting of the American Academy for Research was held on Sunday, December 26, 1976 at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in two sessions, interrupted by a business meeting and a recess.

At the morning session which was devoted to the American Bicentennial, the following papers were read:

Naomi W. Cohen
American Jewish Reactions to Anti-Semitism in Western Europe, 1875–1900

Henry Feingold
The Impact of American Jewry on American Foreign Policy before 1945: Myth and Reality

Lloyd P. Gartner
American Jewry in Jewish Historical Perspective

At the afternoon session the following papers were read:

Isaac Barzilay
Menashe of Ilya as Halakhist

J. S. Fishman
The Post-War Reconstruction of the Dutch Jewish Community and its Implications for the Writing of Contemporary Jewish History

Joel Rembaum
Sefer Nestor Ha-Komer and Medieval Jewish Polemics

Ismar Schorsch
From Messianism to *Realpolitik:* Menasseh ben Israel and the Readmission of the Jews to England

At the business meeting, the Secretary and the Treasurer tendered their reports for the year 1976. Officers and an Executive Committee to conduct the affairs of the Academy for 1977 were elected at the meeting in accordance with Academy procedure.

On Saturday night, December 25, 1976, the Fellows gathered for their annual meeting. A count of the ballots revealed that Professors Jonathan Goldstein, Ben Zion Wacholder and Bernard D. Weinryb were elected Fellows of the Academy. Professor Alexander Scheiber was elected Corresponding Fellow. A full list of the Officers and Fellows follows this report.

Among the grants made by the Executive Committee were financial sums in support of the following projects: Shaye Cohen for his *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a Historian*; to Etan Levine for his *The Aramaic Version of Koheleth*; Yehuda Ratzaby for his *Hebrew Dictionary of the Sacred Language of the Children of Yemen*; Joseph H. Silverman for his *Romances Judeo-Espanoles de Tanger*; Norman A. Stillman for *The Goitein Jubilee Volume*; Moshe Weinfeld for *I. L. Seeligmann Festschrift*; Meir Weiss for the *Unpublished Articles of the Late Dr. Raphael Weiss (1940–1947)*; and to Alexander Scheiber for *Genizah Studies*.

A special public meeting of the Academy was held on Sunday, March 20, 1976 at The Jewish Theological Seminary of America. The speakers were:

Jacob Neusner

"The Completion of the Mishnah with Special Reference to the Order of Purities"

Shmuel Ettinger

"Hasidism and the Kahal in Eastern Europe"

LIST OF OFFICERS AND FELLOWS 1977

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Vice President — Prof. Alexander Altmann
Brandeis University
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Prof. Shalom Spiegel

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Prof. Alexander Altmann, Brandeis University
Prof. Zvi Ankori, Tel Aviv University

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Prof. Salo W. Baron, Columbia University
Prof. Isaac Barzilay, Columbia University
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Prof. W. Leslau, University of California, Los Angeles
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Prof. Nahum M. Sarna, Brandeis University
Prof. Moses A. Shulvass, Spertus College

* Deceased

Prof. Eisig Silberschlag, University of Texas at Austin
Prof. Shalom Spiegel, Jewish Theological Seminary
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Prof. Eric Werner, Hebrew Union College — Jewish Institute of Religion
Prof. Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, Harvard University
* Prof. Solomon Zeitlin, Dropsie University
Prof. Moshe Zucker, Jewish Theological Seminary

CORRESPONDING FELLOWS

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Prof. Francisco Burgos Cantera, University of Madrid
Prof. Benjamin Mazar, Hebrew University
Prof. Alexander Scheiber, Jewish Theological Seminary of Hungary
Prof. Chaim Schirmann, Hebrew University
Prof. Gershom Scholem, The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities
Prof. Ephraim Urbach, Hebrew University
Prof. Georges Vajda, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
Prof. Yigael Yadin, Hebrew University

HONORARY MEMBER

Prof. Julian Morgenstern, Hebrew Union College — Jewish Institute of Religion

RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS-IN-AID

J. D. Abramsky, Jerusalem
Dr. Jacob Katzenstein, Jerusalem

* Deceased

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PROCEEDINGS *

VOLUME I—1928–1930, 80 Pages

Alexander Marx, "Address"; S. Baron, "I. M. Jost, the Historian"; Israel Davidson, "The Study of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry in the XIX Century"; Louis Finkelstein, "The Origin of the Synagogue"; Isaac Husik, "Joseph Albo, the Last of the Mediaeval Jewish Philosophers."

VOLUME II—1930–1931, 89 Pages

Israel Efros, "Some Textual Notes on Judah Halevi's Kusari"; Joshua Finkel, "Old Israelitish Tradition in the Koran"; Solomon Gandz, "The Origin of the Gnomon *or* the Gnomon in Hebrew Literature"; Jacob Z. Lauterbach, "Substitutes for the Tetragrammaton"; Solomon Zeitlin, "The Origin of the Synagogue."

VOLUME III—1931–1932, 165 Pages

Louis Finkelstein,"Prolegomena to an Edition of the Sifre on Deuteronomy"; Ralph Marcus, "Divine Names and Attributes in Hellenistic Jewish Literature"; Solomon Zeitlin, "An Historical Study of the Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures."

VOLUME IV—1932–1933, 231 Pages

Salo Baron, "The Jews and the Syrian Massacres of 1860"; Israel Davidson, "Proverbs and Aphorisms in Hebrew Literature"; Louis Finkelstein, "Improved Readings in the *Sifre*"; Solomon Gandz, "Hebrew Numerals"; Jacob Z. Lauterbach, "The Two Mekiltas"; C. Levias, "The Order of the Hebrew Alphabet"; Alexander Marx, "A New Collection of Manuscripts"; Solomon Zeitlin, "The Tobias Family and the Hasmoneans."

VOLUME V—1933–1934, 182 Pages

Louis Finkelstein, "The Mekilta and Its Text"; Leo Jung, "Mis-Translation as Source in Jewish and Christian Lore," I; Samuel Kurland, "An Unidentified

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* For the Tables of Contents of previous Proceedings, see Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research, Vol. XXXVII (1969), pp. xiii-xx.

Hebrew Translation of Aristotle's *De Generatione et Corruptione*"; Jacob Z. Lauterbach, "Misunderstood Chronological Statements in the Talmudic Literature"; Joseph Marcus, "Studies in the Chronicle of Aḥimaaz"; Alexander Marx, "Zunz's Letters to Steinschneider"; Harry Austryn Wolfson, "Studies in Crescas."

VOLUME VI—1934–1935, 377 PAGES

Salo W. Baron, "The Historical Outlook of Maimonides"; Harry Blumberg, "Alfarabi's Five Chapters on Logic"; Boaz Cohen, "An Essay on Possession in Jewish Law"; Z. Diesendruck, "Maimonides' Theory of the Negation of Privation"; Louis M. Epstein, "The Institution of Concubinage Among the Jews"; Louis Finkelstein, "Studies in the Tannaitic Midrashim"; Guido Kisch, "Research in Medieval Legal History of the Jews"; Harry S. Lewis, "Immanuel of Rome"; Alexander Sperber, "The Targum Onkelos in its Relation to the Masoretic Hebrew Text"; Joshua Starr, "A Fragment of a Greek Mishnaic Glossary."

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Solomon Gandz, "The Rōbeh רוֹבֶה or the Official Memorizer of the Palestinian Schools"; A. S. Halkin, "Samaritan Polemics Against the Jews"; Guido Kisch, "The Jewry-Law of the Medieval German Law-books," Part I; Paul Romanoff, "Onomasticon of Palestine"; Samuel Rosenblatt, "The Relations Between Jewish and Muslim Laws Concerning Oaths and Vows."

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Israel Efros, "מלות ההגיון, Maimonides, Treatise on Logic (Maḳālah fi-Ṣinā'at al-Manṭiḳ). The Original Arabic and Three Hebrew Translations."

VOLUME IX—1938–39, 185 PAGES (out of print)

Solomon Gandz, "Studies in Hebrew Mathematics and Astronomy"; Michael Higger, "The Identification and Classification of the Baraitot"; Joshua Finkel, "מאמר תחית המתים, Maimonides, Treatise on Resurrection (Maqala Fi Teḥiyyat ha-Metim). The Original Arabic and Samuel ibn Tibbon's Hebrew Translation and Glossary."

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Zvi Ankori, "Some Sapects of Karaite-Rabbanite Relation in Byzantium on the Eve of the First Crusade," Part I; Isaac Eisenstein-Barzilay, "The

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VOLUME XXIX—1960–1961, 264 Pages

Salo W. Baron, "Philip Friedman"; Abraham S. Halkin, "Isaiah Sonne, the Historian"; Isaac E. Barzilay, "The Italian and Berlin Haskalah"; Gerson D. Cohen, "The Story of the Four Captives"; Walter E. Stuermann, "Benedict Spinoza: A Pioneer in Biblical Criticism"; David Halivni (Weiss), "The Location of the Bet Din in the Early Tannaitic Period"; Moshe Zucker, "מספר המצוות לר' חפץ בן יצליח"; Salomon Speier, "התאריך של מילת אברהם וישמעאל לפי התרגום המיוחס ליונתן."

VOLUME XXX—1962, 159 Pages

William G. Braude, "The *Piska* Concerning the Sheep which Rebelled"; Walter J. Fischel, "Cochin in Jewish History, Prolegomena to a History of the Jews in India"; Alfred Abraham Greenbaum, "Nationalism as a Problem in Soviet Jewish Scholarship"; Jacob Neusner, "Studies on the Problems of Tannaim in Babylonia (ca. 130–160 C.E.)"; Gene M. Schramm, "Moses Ibn Ezra's 'Graves': The Analysis of a Short Poem"; Mordecai L. Wilensky, "Some Notes on Rabbi Israel Loebel's Polemic against Hasidism"; Judah Brumer, "מנין הגידים האסורים לרס"ג."

VOLUME XXXI—1963, 289 Pages

Ben Zion Bokser, "The Tnread of Blue"; Herbert Davidson, "Maimonides' *Shemonah Peraqim* and Alfarabi's *Fuṣūl Al-Madanī*"; Monford Harris, "Dreams in *Sefer Ḥasidim*"; B. Netanyahu, "The Marranos According to the Hebrew Sources of the 15th and Early 16th Centuries"; Jacob Neusner, "Some Aspects of the Economic and Political Life of Babylonian Jewry, ca. 160–220 C.E."; Zosa Szajkowski, "The Impact of the Beilis Case on Central and Western Europe"; Eliezer Shimshon Rosenthal, "המורה."

VOLUME XXXII—1964, 240 PAGES

Samau'al al-Maghrib,, *Iḥām al-Yahūd* (Silencing the Jews), edited and translated by Moshe Perlmann.

VOLUME XXXIII—1965, 147 PAGES

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On the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday

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NECROLOGY

SOLOMON ZEITLIN
(May 28, 1886–December 28, 1976)

Dr. Solomon Zeitlin, the Distinguished Professor of Post-Biblical Literature at Dropsie University, died in Philadelphia on December 28, 1976, at the age of 90. He was born in Chasniki, Russia, on May 28, 1886, attended the gymnasium and later the Academy of Baron Günzberg where he also became a life-long friend of Zalman Shazar. Zeitlin obtained Semicha in Russia in 1904 and the Th. D. at the École Rabbinique, Paris, in February 1913. He was also Éleve titulaire de la section des sciences religieuse in the University of Paris, 1913.

After coming to America in 1915, he matriculated at Dropsie College, and for two years served as a Fellow in Rabbinics at that institution. His doctoral thesis was *Megillat Taanit as a Source for Jewish Chronology and History in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*. His doctorate was granted on March 8, 1917.

From 1918 on he taught Jewish History at the Rabbinical College (Yeshivat Rabbenu Itzchak Elchanan), having been invited there by Dr. Bernard Revel, the first graduate of Dropsie and the first President of Yeshiva College. In 1919, he joined with Professors Louis Ginzberg, Israel Davidson, Israel Friedlander and Alexander Marx of The Jewish Theological Seminary, and Professors Jacob Lauterbach and David Neumark of Hebrew Union College and Professor Henry Malter of Dropsie, in founding the American Academy for Jewish Research and was very active in the first years of the Academy's existence. His monograph, "The Origin of the Synagogue: A Study in the Development of Jewish Institutions," appeared in Volume II (1931) of the *Proceedings*.

In 1925 on the death of Professor Malter, Zeitlin was invited by

Dr. Cyrus Adler to become Professor of Rabbinics at Dropsie. After the passing of Dr. Adler in 1940, Zeitlin served continuously as the Editor of *Jewish Quarterly Review* until his own death.

Zeitlin also served as Editor of the *Jewish Apocryphal Literature* series published by Dropsie. He was active in a literary debate with Professor Toynbee on the question of the Jewish claims to the Holy Land and he also wrote extensively on the problem of "Who is a Jew?" and on "Jews – Race, Nation or Religion." Thus he often combined his research in ancient sources with a deep interest in the problems of his own day.

Dr. Zeitlin possessed a fabulous memory, and a keen and scintillating mind. He was internationally known as the "stubborn controversialist," particularly in his views on the Slavonic text of Josephus and the authenticity of the Dead Sea Scrolls in relation to the Second Commonwealth era and its sects. His fame rose with his many studies of the Second Temple era and the Tannaitic period and its Halakhah. He probed the origins of Christianity, the Crucifixion of Jesus, the works of Josephus and the Greek and Roman literature, tying these in with dexterity to early Talmudic sources.

Zeitlin wrote over 400 articles and many major books in his field. Especially noted is his series, *The Rise and Fall of the Judaean State*. The last and third volume in this series will shortly be published by JPS. A fourth volume of his *Collected Writings*, dealing specifically with themes of Halakhah, will soon be brought to light by Ktav. A full listing of Zeitlin's works, with summations and appreciations of his writings will be found in S. B. Hoenig's book: *Solomon Zeitlin, the Scholar Laureate: An Annotated Bibliography*.

Professor Zeitlin's students throughout his half century of teaching were very devoted to him. He sought at all times to encourage younger men in Jewish research and scholarship. Many were inspired both by his boldness and uncompromising approach in his search for truth. At the same time they admired his genuine modesty and personal conduct and behavior.

Zeitlin's passing at the age of 90 symbolizes the end of an era in

Jewish scholarship which was initially identified with early training in East European academies and which, its subsequent Westernization notwithstanding, remained rooted in that rich milieu. Indeed, Zeitlin was one of the outstanding products of this symbiosis and a living testimony to the stores of creativity that were latent in East European Jewry. He was colorful, articulate and polemical, but always perceptive, genuine and sensitive. In his long life he witnessed many changes around him, but he remained remarkably unchanged and true to his major pursuit — the study of Judaism. He will be sorely missed by all those who were privileged to have known him and to have enjoyed his great learning and humaneness.

חבל על דאבדין ולא משתכחין

David Weiss Halivni Sidney B. Hoenig

THE GENERATION OF EZRA AND NEHEMIAH

By E. J. Bickerman

For H.L. Ginsberg, in Friendship

The purpose of this paper is to consider the historical significance of the reciprocal relationship between Jewish and Babylonian religious names in the anthroponymy of fifth century Nippur.*

I

Nippur, modern Nuffar, was a very ancient city situated on "the river Chebar" (Ez. 1:1), that is, on the "Grand Canal" of the Euphrates, some 100 km. south-east of Babylon. A collection of some six hundred fifty cuneiform tablets,[1] belonging to the archives of the business firm Murashu and Sons, was found in 1893, during the partial excavations of the site by the University of Pennsylvania. Over five hundred tablets, written between 455 and 403 B.C.E., have been published.[2] They offer names of about 2200 persons.[3]

* This paper was read in Columbia University Seminar on Hebrew Bible on January 18, 1972. I am very much obliged to M. Dandamayev, H. L. Ginsberg, M. Greenberg, B. Levine, Y. Muffs, Morton Smith and H. Tadmor for help and encouragement. M. W. Stolper allowed me to read his unpublished thesis (see below n. 2); G. Wallis sent me a microfilm of his unpublished dissertation (see n. 2); I owe particular thanks to R. Zadok who kindly read a draft of this paper, answered various questions, and sent me his pamphlet "The Jews in Babylonia" and an English summary of his thesis (see n. 3 and 16).

Abbreviations: VIII, 1; IX; X, *UM* = see n. 2; *ANET* = *The Ancient Near Eastern Texts* ed. J. Pritchard, 3rd ed., 1969; Augapfel, see n. 2; Cardascia, see n. 2; Ebeling, see n. 6; *HAU*, see n. 2; *RLA* = *Reallexikon der Assyrologie*; Stolper, see n. 2; Wallis, see n. 2; Zadok I, see n. 3; Zadok II, see n. 16.

[1] Cardascia p. II n. 2.

[2] A. T. Clay, "Legal and Commercial Transactions... from Nippur." *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania* VIII, 1, 1908 = VIII, 1. H.V. Hilprecht, "Business Documents of Murashu sons of Nippur" *ib.* IX (1898)

The Babylonian scribes who drafted these documents indicated their own names and the names of interested parties as well as the names of the usually numerous witnesses to a transaction. Furthermore, the official name of a free person had two components: a given name and a patronymic.[4] Thus, the Nippur tablets contain the proper names of two successive generations, of the person acting and of his (her) father: Zabdia, son of Beletir, for instance. The style was the same in Aramaic and Greek onomastic of the period: Menahem, son of Zakkur, or Socrates, son of Sophroniscos.

On the other hand, Babylonian scribes of business documents only rarely and haphazardly stated the nationality of the individuals they mentioned.[5] We do not know, for instance, why a

= IX; A. T. Clay, the same title X (1904) = X; A. T. Clay, *The University of Pennsyllvania, The Museum. Publications of the Babylonian Section*, II (1912) = UM. Further texts have been published in M. W. Stolper, *Management and Politics in Later Achaemenid Babylonia*, Thesis, Univ. of Michigan (1974), 235–472. It is regrettable that this work has not been printed as yet. The essential work on the Murashu records is G. Cardascia, *Les Archives des Murašû* (1951), who, p. 208–232, also gives a list of all transliterated and or translated texts from the Murashu archives. Cf. also R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* I (1967), 53; 191; II (1975), 33; 110. Numerous texts are transliterated and translated in J. Augapfel, "Babylonische Rechtsurkunden" *Denkschriften* of the Academy in Vienna 59, 3 (1917). Some texts have been translated in J. Kohler, A. Ungnad, *Hundert ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden aus der Spätezeit des babylonischen Schriftums* (1911) = HAU. Cardascia *op. cit.* translated and mostly transliterated 81 documents.

[3] R. Zadok, *Nippur in the Achaemenid Period: Geographical and Ethnical Aspects*. Diss. the Hebrew University (1974), Engl. Summary, pp. XXVII.

[4] M. San Nicolò, *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte im Bereiche der keilschriftlichen Rechtsquellen* (1931) 141–144. The patronymics begin to appear in Babylonian documents from the beginning of the VIth c. on. G. Cardascia, *Rev. hist. des droits de l'antiquité* (1954), 105. On names of slaves, see M. A. Dandamayev, *Rabstvo v Babilonii* (1974) 66; 236. We may here disregard the references to ancestors, occupations and titles that sometimes follow personal names. Cf. D. Weisberg, *Guild Structure and Political Allegiance in Early Achemenid Mesopotamia* (1967), 78–85, 5; Zadok II, p. 31, n. 117; A. T. Clay, BE VIII, 1, p. 2.

[5] Indications of nationality are generally wanting in private documents. See e.g. R. A. S. Macalister, *Gezer* I (1912), 20; E. Dhorme, *Rev. Assyrol.*

certain Tilapa, son of Minna, who owned a plantation of date-palms near Nippur, was styled "Lydian" in a receipt.[6] Consequently, in order to ascertain the nationality of persons in the Murashu records, we must rely mainly on the evidence of names. But this criterion requires careful handling.

Nippur was a Babylonian city, and two thirds of the personal names in the Murashu records are Babylonian.[7] But transfer of West Semitic populations (the deportation of Jews from Jerusalem, for instance) and, on the other hand, penetration of the (Aramaic speaking) Chaldean tribes from the south, led to a considerable Aramaicization of the region of Nippur which was already called Aram in the seventh century.[8] For Jeremiah (50:2) and Ezekiel (23:23) Lower Mespotamia was "the land of the Chaldeans." Therefore, a quarter of personal names in the Murashu documents are Aramaic. In Persian Nippur both ethnic elements, Babylonian and Aramean, became more or less amalgamated, though the cuneiform scribes were always Babylonians.[9] In point of fact, the irresistible advance of assimilation swept away almost all the ethnic particularities in anthroponymy. The "Cimmerians," that is, descendants of Scythian colonists, though they belonged to a separate "Cimmerian" settlement (*ḫatru*), gave to their sons Babylonian and Aramaic names. The "Tyrians," that is, Phoenicians, also had their own district, but with the exception of a certain A-du-me, they bore Akkadian names. Even Hebrew or, say, Arabic theophoric names were sometimes formed with Aramaic predicates. Likewise, hypocoristic names were mostly formed with the Aramaic suffix -a. Thus Ḥanana and not Ḥanan.[10]

Even the religious anthroponymy became uniform. Men with

25 (1928), 53–89. But nationality is indicated in official records. See e.g. R. Zadok, *Iran* 14, 1976, 62 and Zadok II, 13.

[6] Cardascia, 92 (*UM* 70). Cf. Dandamayev (n. 4), 70.

[7] Zadok I, p. XXVII. [8] Zadok *ib.* p. XXIX.

[9] M. D. Coogan, *BA* 57, 1974, 9 n. 5.

[10] Zadok I, p. XXVI, XXX, XXXI, XXXIII, XXXXVI. On *ḫatru* see Cardascia, *RLA*, IV, 150; Stolper, 14–16; 111–157. On the "Cimmerians" (Scythians) in Babylonia see M. Dandamayev, *Vestn. Drevn. Istor.*, 1977, n. 1, p. 330–340.

West Semitic names trusted the Babylonian gods adopted by the Arameans, or West Semitic gods received into the Babylonian pantheon: Adda (Hadad), Ilteri (Sin), Nabu, Nana, Shamesh (Shamash), and the ubiquitous and for this reason "neutral" 'El, that is, "deity." It is significant that Enlil, the patron saint of Nippur, appeared very rarely in this international onomastic. He was too much the protector of the burgesses of Nippur to appeal to foreign colonists. The descendants of immigrants turned to more universal deities, and for the same reason they lost interest in the local and far distant cults of their forefathers. We find no man called after the ancestral Ba'al (except a Jew named Bealiah, "YHWH is the Lord"), no names referring to Baalshamin, Eshmun, Gad, Melqart, Milkom, or to Rimmon of Damascus and Kemosh of the Moabites. Only the name of one person invoked Ate (Anath), and Attar (Astarte) appeared only in the name of a slave. There were ten individuals named Abda, "Servant," but not one was "servant" of a West Semitic deity, while "servants" of Babylonian gods abounded.[11]

As we have seen, Aramaic and Babylonian names do not indicate nationality. Conversely, a foreign, that is, neither Babylonian nor Aramaic, name, or patronymic, or the name of one's relatives, which escaped the standardization of onomastic, points out the nationality of its bearer and his family.[12] For instance, Barik, son of Hurushshadatu was, despite his own Aramaic name, of Iranian extraction, as the name of this father shows. As a matter of fact, his fief was situated in the district of "Arvas" ("Aryans"),

[11] Our observations are based on prosopography in M. D. Coogan, *West Semitic Personal Names in the Murashu Documents*, 1976. But Abd-milk in *UM* 226 is an erroneous reading. The name is Abdi-ish-shar, as I learn from R. Zadok. Likewise, the Chaldeans in Southern Babylonia forgot their own, Aramaic, deities, and worshipped Babylonian gods: Assur, Marduk, Nabu, Nana and Shamash. M. Dietrich, *Die Aramäer Südbabyloniens in der Sargonidenzeit 700–648*, 1970, 217. On the "Western Minorities in Babylonia under the Achaemenids see the forthcoming paper of I. Eph al in *Orientalia*.

[12] Cf. the rule followed by Zadok I p. XXVIII: A person is non-Akkadian, though his given name and patronymic are Akkadan, if a member of his family has a foreign name.

an Iranian tribe.[13] Likewise, Na'esi, whose name as well as the patronymic Pamune invoked Egyptian gods, was presumably an Egyptian. An Idumean invoked his god Qos, four persons from Palestine or Syria were named after Beth-el, and the "peculiar" people continued to praise the God of Jerusalem.[14]

II

The ethnic designation "Jew" is not attested in the published Murashu records. There was no Jewish separate and self-governing settlement like that of the Cimmerians, for instance (see above p. 2). The Jews lived dispersed in various villages around Nippur. (We do not know anything about the Jews or other foreigners in the city of Nippur.) They are attested in 28 settlements.[15] We know this because Hebrew names occur in some seventy tablets from the Murashu archives. Let us stress, however, at once that Jews no less than other ethnic minorities in Nippur (see above p. 1) freely gave their sons Aramaic or Babylonian or even Persian names. Therefore, any list of the Jews, or, say, of Egyptians, in Nippur must be incomplete, provisory, and to some extent arbitrary.[16] We can only identify the individuals who, according to

[13] M. A. Dandamayev, in the *Volume in Honor of V. Avdiev* (1966) 86–93. According to a communication of R. Zadok the name should be read "Arvian." See his note ap. I. Gerschevitch in *Mémorial Jean de Menasce* (1974), 61.

[14] X, 81 *ap.* M. A. Dandamayev, in *Drevni Egipet i Drevniya Africa*, a volume in memory of V. V. Struve, 1967, 15–26; on the names compounded with the divine name Beth-el cf. J. Starcky, *Sy* 36 (1960) 104.

[15] Zadok I, p. XXXIII.

[16] E. Ebeling, *Aus dem Leben der jüdischen Exulanten in Babylonien*, Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Humboldt-Gymnasium, Programm nr. 71 Ostern, 1914, translated 53 "Jewish" documents, and p. 27–32 offered a list of Jews in Nippur. G. Wallis, *Die Soziale Situation der Juden in Babylonien zur Achaemenidenzeit*, Diss. Free University, Berlin, transliterated and translated fifty texts. (The microfilm of his thesis and a print from it are deposited in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York). His list of Jews (p. 196–210) is even larger than that of Ebeling, though he uses the same material. But Coogan (above n. 11) rightly stated that it was "impossible for the most part to identify the Jews among the West Semites at Nippur." Lastly, R. Zadok, *The Jews in Babylonia in the Chaldean and Achaemenian periods in the Light of the Baby-*

their names, must be Jews, and those who probably are.[17]

We naturally start with the names containing the Tetragrammaton since they were peculiar to the chosen people. Persons bearing Yahwistic names in the Murashu records number about fifty. In these names the divine element can be either the initial, as in Joab, or the final, as in Isaiah.[18] At Nippur only eight persons bear names compounded with the Tetragrammaton at the beginning. The ratio is similar in Persian Elephantine (7:1) and agrees with the general trend of later Jewish onomastic, particularly after the Exile.[19] In the pagan anthroponymy of Persian Nippur the tendency is the opposite.[20] For instance, the word order of subject-verb is preferred in the proportion of 2:1 in given names of the 'El group: a Natan'el names his son 'El-gabar. The Jews, however, faithful to the tradition of Jerusalem, refused to follow this fashion.

As we have stated (above, p. 1), the official name of a person

lonian Sources, Mifal Hashichpul, Tel Aviv, 1976, p. 16–18, reduced the number of identifiable Jews in Nippur to about 80.

[17] The names of Jews in Nuppur were examined by S. Daiche., *The Jews in Babylonia in the Time of Ezra and Nehemiah according to Babylonian Inscriptions*, Publications of Jews' College no. 2, London, 1910, pp. 12–29. Cf. also D. Sidersky, *REJ* 87 (1929), 177–199 on Hebrew onomastic at Nippur. He also gives a translation of 25 tablets. Cf. also Wallis, 6–42. On onomastic in Elephantine see B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, 1968, 133–150; P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Egypte*, 1972, p. 455–508; M. H. Silverman, *JAOS* 89, 1969, 691-709 (on Aramean name-types) and *Orientalia*, 39, 1970, 465–91 (on Hebrew name-types at Elephantine). On biblical anthroponymy cf. G. B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, 1896. For current research about Semitic onomastic cf. J. Teixidor's "Bulletin" of Semitic Epigraphy in *Syria*, from 1967 on. For historical interpretation of onomastic see J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin épgraphique" (*Revue des études grecques*), the section on onomastic.

[18] Cf. A. T. Clay, *Light on the Old Testament from Babylon*. 1906. 242-247; M. D. Coogan, *Journal for Study of Judaism* 4 (1973), 183–191.

[19] On the comparative frequency of the names compounded with YHWH and with 'El in the Bible, see Gray (n. 17), 255. New epigraphic material in J. Naveh, Y. Aharoni, *Beer-sheba*, II, 1973, 73-6.

[20] On Neo-Babylonian word-order, cf. Coogan (n. 11), 112. On the construction of Hebrew theophoric names see Gray (n. 17), 162.

in Persian Nippur comprised his given name and the name of the father. The slaves generally lacked patronymics; instead, the owner was named, for instance, Barik-iama (Berachiah), slave of Artabara. Further, the patronymic, or given name, could be by some mistake omitted by the scribe or damaged on the cuneiform tablets. For reasons which will soon be apparent, we include in our list only persons whose patronymics are known. We also disregard rare cases when we know the names of grandfathers or grandsons of the persons acting in the Murashu transactions. As far as possible we give Hebrew names according to their usual English form, regardless of the (often aberrant) cuneiform spelling. Thus, the Tetragrammaton at the end of a name was written *-iama* and, in all probability, heard as *yaw*. For instance, the name Gedaliah was written Ga-da-al-ia-a-ma and pronounced Gadalyaw.[21] We shall reproduce those Babylonian forms only for some special reason.

Obviously, the persons with Yahwistic names could give their sons also non-Yahwistic names, and the Jews not bearing a Yahwistic name could give it to their sons. In this way the Yahwistic group in our Table I consists of "fathers" and "sons." Except in rare cases where fathers together with their sons were parties or witnesses to the document, we may state that the sons belonged to the generation active between 437 and 411; only one document is from the year 452.

Let us now look closely at our Table I. To begin with, we note that the number of persons bearing Yahwistic names doubled from one generation to another. Such an increase deserves attention. Names referring to 'El in Nippur are approximately as frequent among fathers as among sons: 32 to 27. Likewise, the frequency of theophoric names in Aramaic endorsements on Murashu tablets is the same for first names and patronymics. Yet, in West Semitic anthroponymy at Nippur names compounded with the divine name Shamash occur 10 times among fathers while 28 such names are borne by sons. I am unable to explain this sudden

[21] Cf. Zadok II, p. 4.

burst of veneration for the sun-god. It is strange that the Shamash-fathers placed their sons under the protection of other Babylonian deities while fathers named Belshunu or Marduku called their sons Shameshlindar, Shamashbarak, *vel simile.*[22]

Nevertheless, the shift was more apparent than real. A Belshunu who called his son Shameshbarak did not forsake Bel just as a Francis who bestows on his son the name Dominic does not commit apostasy. But YHWH was not Shamesh or Bel. "If YHWH is God, follow Him, but if Baal, then follow him." (I Kings 18:21). Was this still true for the Jews in Persian Nippur? To answer this question, we have to examine further onomastic particularities of the Yahwistic group.

The Yahwistic fathers gave Yahwistic names to sons. but they also gave non-Yahwistic names to 10 sons. Four of the latter received Jewish religious names: Hanan, that is, the abbreviated form of the name Hananiah, "YHWH is gracious," Eliada (II Sam. 5:16), the name meaning "Whom God knows (protects)," and, finally, one was named Shiliimmu, that is, Shillem or Shalum of the English Bible. This is again an abbreviated form of the Yahwistic name Shelemiah, "YHWH has substituted (the lost child)." A son was called Sha-ma-ah-u-nu, that is, he received the biblical name Simeon. Lastly, four sons received Babylonian, Aramaic, and Persian secular names: Bibia ("Baby"), Gukka ("Bullock"),[23] Tattani ("Gift"), and Zabina ("Bought," from a deity).

Let us now pass to the second sub-group of the Yahwistic set. Almost two thirds of Yahwistic sons were born to non-Yahwistic fathers. By chance we also learn the name (Zabdia) of a brother of Udarna, one of the non-Yahwistic fathers. These men of the older generation can be classified as follows: Five of them have names

[22] The figures given in this paragraph are based on the data collected and explained in Coogan's thesis (above n. 11). For Aramaic endorsments see A. T. Clay, in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper* I (1909) 285–322 and in *UM* p. 51–2 and L. Delaporte, *Epigraphes araméens* (1912).

[13] Zadok II, p. 31 n. 115.

of Jewish religious import (Rahim-el, Shabbethay,[24] Shillum). Six persons have "neutral," that is, secular non-Jewish names, like Shirka ("devotee"), or Tu-ub-ha.[25] Six fathers of Yahwistic sons bear Babylonian theophoric names. such as Beluballit ("The god Bel calls into life") or Nanaiddina ("The goddess Nana has given").

We can now compare the onomastic of the fathers and of sons in the Yahwistic group. Among the fathers the number of Yahwistic, Jewish, foreign secular and Babylonian theophoric names is 13, 5, 6, and 6, that is, approximately 2.5:1:1:1. Among the sons the corresponding figures are 27, 7, 4, 0. The proportions of Jewish Yahwistic and otherwise biblical names, of foreign "neutral" names and of Babylonian theophoric names is now 34:4:0, that is, 9:1:0. The only possible exception would be a certain Belitannu. His patronymic is broken off on the tablet, but, judging from the context, he could have been a son of Zabdia and thus cousin of Hananiah and thus, presumably, a Jew.[26]

Before proceeding further, we must stop to point out two apparent flaws in our discussion. In the first place we were unable to cope with the classification of men who participated in transactions but had their sons as business associates. According to our scheme (above, p. 4) both sets belonged to the category of "sons." But in this case, junior partners would lack patronymics. It seemed right to use here the genealogical criterion: fathers and sons. Yet, this expedient failed in the case of Tobiah's family. Five of his sons were principals in transactions with the house of Murashu and, therefore, classified as "sons" in our list (see Table I). But Zabina had his own sons as associates. Obviously we cannot separate him from his brothers, nor leave his own sons without patronymics. It seemed reasonable to record him twice in our lists, that is, among "fathers" and among "sons" as well. As Zabina had a "neutral" name, this duplication, though somewhat inflating our figures, does not affect our results.

[24] Cf. Zadok II, p. 8 and Porten (n. 17), 124.

[25] Cf. Zadok II, p. 10.

[26] IX, 69, translit. and transl. IX, p. 32, transl. *HAU*, 66.

Secondly, one may object that our figures are tainted, statistically speaking, because 12 persons among "sons", by chance of discoveries, belong to two families only. Among these 12 men, 10 had Yahwistic or Jewish names and 2 "neutral" names. If we eliminate them from our Table I, the list would consist of 24 persons with Yahwistic or other Jewish names and 2 persons bearing neutral names, that is, a proportion of 6:1 instead of the ratio of 8:1 of Table I. This arithmetic difference is irrelevant to our purpose. We are not playing at the so-called "quantitative history." The available information is too scarce even for a sample statistical survey. We can only try to discover the onomastic trend, and for this purpose the differential quotient of 6:1 or, say, 3:1, would be no less significant than that of 8:1.

We can now turn our attention to a second group of men who, according to their first names or patronymics, were certainly Jews, a man called Shabbethai or Haggai, for instance. Leaving out the persons already mentioned in Table I, we find 22 persons in this set (see Table II).

In this group 6 fathers have Jewish religious names, 3 names are "neutral," and one is the Babylonian theophoric name of Belabausur. But 10 sons have Jewish religious names, one name is unintellegible but "neutral," and one is the Babylonian secular name Liblut ("May he live"). The ratio of Jewish names, of "neutral" names, and of Babylonian religious names is 6:3:1 among fathers and 10:2:0 among sons. The proportion is roughly the same as in the Yahwistic group.

The third and last name group we have to consider may be called the "Ḥanan" group. It includes men called Ḥanan, Ḥanana, Ḥanani, and Ḥananiah. (Henceforth, for convenience's sake, we shall forgo the diacritical mark under H.) The names derived from the root HNN ("be gracious"), El-hanan, Hannibal, Jehohanan, and others, are numerous in West Semitic anthroponymy. But outside Hebrew and other "Canaanite" languages, the abbreviated forms that omit the divine name are less frequent and, except in Hebrew and in some "Canaanite" dialects, there are phonetic and morphological shifts. The Punic hypocoristicon is

Hn', that is, Hanno, as Greek and Latin transcriptions show.[27] In Aramaic the hypocoristica from the verb HNN are mostly formed as Hanun, or appear as the passive participle, like Hanina, "Favored." For instance, in inscriptions from Palmyra the name Hnyn' occurs often, but there is no "Hanan."[28] It is true that some Aramaic speaking men used the name-type "Hanan" in the Assyrian period. A graffito scratched on a wall at Hama, in Northern Syria, in the ninth or eighth century, reads HNN. The Ammonites who, in the seventh century, wrote in Aramean script, but still spoke their Canaanite dialect, bore such names as El-hanan.[29] One Uggia, the son of Ha-na-na, lived near Aleppo in the third quarter of the sixth century. A man named Hanani, a former governor of a province eastwards of Aleppo, was the "eponym" of the year 701/700 in Assyria. Another Hanana was a a tax-payer in the district of Harran in the seventh century.[30]

But here we deal with the anthroponymy in Persian Nippur and not with the general diffusion of the name-type Hanan. Onomastical data are historical facts and as such should be con-

[27] Frank L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions*, 1972, 313–315.

[28] J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions*, 1971, p. 89; cf. e.g. J. Teixidor, *Semitica* 25 (1975), 103: "Malku... son of... Hnyn; F. Vattoni, 'Epigrafica Aramaica', *Augustinianum* 10 (1970), p. 529. *ḥnwn*, *ḥni*, *ḥinni*, and *ḥntt*.

[29] H. Donner, W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* I (1962) no. 213; Ammonites: N. Avigad in *Essays in Honor of N. Glueck*, ed. J. A. Sanders, 1970, p. 285. Anan (*'nn*) the son of Elisha and priest of Baal, whose funerary inscription, engraved ca. 500 B.C.E. has been discovered in Egypt, was a Phoenician. A. Dupont-Sommer, *Sy* (1956) 79–87. An Idumean called Hanna' is attested in Ptolemaic Palestine. M. Hengel, *Juden, Griechen und Barbaren* 1976, 41.

[30] C. H. W. Jones, *An Assyian Doomsday Book*, 1901, p. 51; E. Dhorme, *Rev. Assyrol.* 25, 1928, 53–89, nos. 11–12; E. Ebeling, *RLA* II, 448; J. N. Postgate, *The Governor's Palace Archives*, 1973, n. 90 (Ha-na-na). Further references in K. L. Tallquist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, 1914, reprinted 1966; Zadok II, p. 11 and *Id.*, *Die Welt des Orients*, 1977, 45. No names derived from the root *hnn* are attested among the Arameans in Southern Babylonia in the second half of the seventh c. See Dietrich (n. 11), 211–214. (*Inded*).

sidered in spatial and temporal context. To do it, we have to look closely at the Hanan-set. We observe first that the Hanan group in Nippur comprises no less than eighteen persons, that is, about half of the number of individuals bearing names of the name-type Barik that was so popular among the Arameans. In the whole Assyrian documentation there are hardly more than a half-dozen persons of the name-type Hanan. Only three persons named Ha-na-na are mentioned in Babylonian documents written outside Nippur during three centuries from Nabopolassar to Alexander the Great.[31]

We note, secondly, that in the Murashu records the names of Hanan-type are sometimes rendered as Ha-na-na, Ha-na-ni, *vel simile*, but more often they are written Ha-an-na. The latter spelling already appears in some documents from the sixth century, also written in Nippur as it seems. Thus, Ha-an-ni-ia, the son of Ashur-shar-usur is mentioned in a receipt written in 554. The Aramaic docket gives his name as חני, that is Hani or Hanno.[32] We may suppose that he was of Phoenician stock and that his family for some reason (probably deportation) came to Nippur in Assyrian times; hence his patronymic "May Ashur protect the king." This form of the name Hanan was also used by Arameans. A man of the tribe Ru-u-a-a is called Ha-an-na-na in an Assyrian text.[33] Unfortunately, the scribes in Persian Nippur used both forms Ha-na-na and Ha-an-na (*vel simile*) indiscriminately and at random. Ha-na-na, the son of Menachem, is also called Ha-an-na-ni and Ha-an-na-nu; Ha-na-ni-iama, that is, Hananiah, the son of Udarna, receives this name in three documents, but he is Ha-an-na-ni in the fourth text.[34] Last but not least, the name of one Ha-an-na-ni is given in the Aramaic docket[35] as חגבי, which is the name of the father of King Jehu of Israel (I Kings 16:1) and

[31] Zadok II, p. 11.

[32] VIII, 1, 27, transliterated and translated *ib.* p. 32. Cf. *ib.* 81 (Ha-an ilu) and 151 (Ha-an-ni).

[33] Tallquist (no. 30), 85.

[34] Zadok II, p. 45 and p. 31 n. 112.

[35] X, 132, transl. and translit. Wallis, 60.

of a brother of Nehemiah (Neh. 1:2), Hanani of the English Bible. Moreover, there is no material ground for differentiation between men called Ha-an-na-ni and men called Ha-na-ni. One Ha-an-na-ni was the son of Tubi-iama (Tobiah) while one Pada-iama (Pediah) named his son Ha-na-nu. One Ha-na-ni was the son of Belitannu and one Ha-an-na-ni was the son of Belabausur. This Ha-an-na-ni was the chief (*shaknu*) of Ashshi, a tribe from the Armenian plateau. The Persian government sometimes appointed an outsider to head an ethnic unit,[36] and this person could be a Jew as well as an Aramean or Babylonian. In point of fact, one Ha-na-an-na, together with a Menachem, was deputy of Labashi, the chief of the "*gardu* of the king."[37] The unity of the Hanan-set is proved by a further observation: 16 sons, but only 2 fathers, bear the name "Hanan." A given name, say, Victoria or Rita, becomes popular in some society and then is taken over by other groups. But it is unbelievable that several ethnic groups in Nippur, suddenly and at the same time, started to bestow the name Hanan on their sons.[38]

We may now try to ascertain the nationality of the Hanan-set. We note first that none of the fathers in this group bears a name referring to some Aramean deity, though nine fathers have purely Babylonian theophoric names without any Aramaic linguistic elements: Nabu-iddin and not, say, Nabu-zabada. The Aramaic personal names in this set can as well be Jewish: Barikel has a counterpart in Barikki-iama (Berachiach) and Tabiya is the Aramaic form of Tobiah. Further, the West Semitic theophoric names in the set are Yahwistic or, at least, Hebrew: three fathers and one son bear the name Hanani-iama, that is, Hananiah, and a Hananiah is the father of Iad-ih-el, that is, Jediael of the English

[35] Stolper, 130.

[37] *UM* 165 (translit. and transl. Augapfel, p. 87). Cf. Ebeling, *RLA* I, 170; X, 127, translit. and transl. Cardascia, 89. On the enigmatic category of *gardu* see Dandamayev (n. 4), 330–334. The *gardu* in Nippur were mostly Babylonians and Egyptians (Dandamayev, *ib.*, 332).

[38] The Assyriologists tacitly accept that the forms Ha-na-ni and Ha-an-nani were interchangeable, but it seemed advisable to check this hypothesis.

Bible, a later variant of the name Eliada born by a son of David.[39] As a matter of fact, the other father named Hanan in our group is also a Jew: his patronymic is Tobiah. As the names Hanan, Hanani, *vel simile*, were caritative and very popular[40] abbreviations of the biblical and Yahwistic name Hananiah and as no Hanan-type name in Nippur compounded the *qal* mood of the verb HNN with a heathen divine element, we conclude that men called Hanan in Nippur were Jews.

Excluding individuals already counted in the Yahwistic set (fathers: 7, 8, 9, 15, 17, 18, 19; sons: Gukka and 4 Hanans), our group consists of 12 fathers: 4 of them have Jewish names or at least names that could be Jewish (2, 10, 12, 16) while 8 fathers bear Babylonian theophoric names. Among the sons there are a Jediael, a Menachem, and 12 Hanans. One person (Gubba) has a neutral Babylonian name. The ratio of Jewish to non-Jewish names is here 14:1.

A comparison with a similar Aramaic name-set strengthens our hypothesis. The West Semitic term *Hn* (חן), meaning "grace" (by a deity) or, perhaps, *gratiosus*,[41] that occurs in such names as Hanniel in the Bible, *Hnšmš* (at Hatra), *Hnb'l* (Punic), and *Hn'el* (Nabatean; Greek transcription Ἀννηλος), or, as the hypocoristicon *Hni*, appears in cuneiform texts as Hi-in-ni, *vel simile*.[42] In Nippur this name-group consists of 17 persons:

Hinnibel, son of Dalatani (X, 433)
Hinnibel, son of Zita-Nabu (UM, 135)
Ilteheriabi, son of Hinnuni (UM, 208)
Ilteheriabi, son of Hinuni (UM, 144)

[39] M. Lidzbarski, *Ephem. für Semit. Epigraph.* II, 209. One Barik-el was a brother (or a relative) of Gedaliah, a Jew. Cardascia, 58. On the name Yada'el, cf. E. Lipinski, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions* I, 1975, 104.

[40] Cf. e.g. Grelot (above n. 17), 43–474; N. Avigad, *Bullae and Seals from a Post-exilic Judean Archive* (1976) no. 3 חנגה. For Samaria cf. F. M. Cross in *New Directions in Biblical Archaeology*, ed. D. N. Freedman and J. G. Greenfield, 1969, 43.

[41] Will-Plein, *VT* 23, 1973, 90.

[42] A. Caquot, *Sy.* 41, 1964, 256; Lidzbarki (above n. 39) II, 250.

Manukiilahi and Hinuni, sons of Aqubu (X, 64)
Nabuhinnini, son of Nurashu (UM, 178)
Zabadiama (Zebadiah), son of Hinnibel (UM, 208)
Hinnia, son of Kina (IX, 85)

In this group everything is normal: idolatrous names among both fathers and sons, Aramean gods (Ilteri), Aramaic linguistic elements in other theophoric names, and Aramaic names of fathers and sons. The only Jew in this set had a Yahwistic name compounded with an Aramaic predicate.

We can now add up the arithmetic results of the examination of the three onomastic sets.

50 fathers:
Yahwistic names, 13
Jewish names, 15
Neutral names, 9
Babylonian theophoric names, 15.

The ratio of Jewish and Yahwistic names to foreign names is 7:6, and of Jewish names to Babylonian theophoric names, 2:1.

65 sons:
Yahwistic names, 27
Jewish names, 31
Neutral names, 7
Babylonian theophoric names, 0 (or, perhaps, 1).

The proportion of Jewish and foreign names is 8:1.

Let us here stop again and re-check our results. Dr. R. Zadok, who knows the prosopography of Nippur better than anyone, has compiled a list of Jews in Nippur. This list, for the reasons mentioned above (pp. 3), is not identical with our catalogue and is organized chronologically. Yet, his figures confirm the essential point of our argumentation that foreign theophoric names in the Jewish onomastic of Nippur, when they do appear, appear only in patronymics, with the possible exception of the case of Belitannu, discussed above (p. 6).

However, a caveat must be added. By limiting our list to persons bearing Yahwistic names or other Jewish names (and their nearest relatives) we narrowly limit our field of observation in advance. We would not think that one Ardininurta the son of Ninurtaballit was a Jew had he not named his own son Ha-an-na-ni. But what about other Jews bearing heathen or secular foreign names? A Jew called Aqbi-yama was co-feudatory of a man called Bel-iada-ah, the son of Manu-ki-Nana.[43] Both belonged to the same territorial and administrative organization (*hatru* of *sipiru*). Could a man named "Bel knows (protects)", the son of a man called "Who is like the (goddess) Nana", be a Jew? We could doubt it, except that his colleague whose name means "YHWH protects" was the son of a man called Bau-etir, that is, "(the goddess) Bau spared." Was, then, Bel-iada-ah a Jew? He could have been, but he could as well have been an Aramean. We just cannot know. Because of our ignorance, our "Jews" are only the ones particularly attached to the God of the Fathers and who, in consequence, chose names like Hananiah or Shabbathai for their sons. Such a selection is obviously lopsided. Still, for the same reason, the heuristic value of our observations is even greater, for we can measure the influx and disappearance of pagan anthroponymy in the most pious Jewish milieu of Persian Nippur.

This shift deserves consideration and requires explication. Personal names constructed as statements indicate the hopes and beliefs of the parents. A Jew, who in Persian Nippur called his son Yashub, expressed his hope of Redemption no less clearly than did Isaiah when he (7:3) named his son Shearjashub ("A remnant shall return [to God]"). Names that invoke a deity assert the latter's might: Berachiah means "YHWH has blessed" and Barikbel, "Blessed by Bel." A Jew in Nippur who called his son Shameshladin ("May Shamesh judge"), and this same son who bestowed on his son the name Jedaiah ("YHWH knows [protects]

[43] *UM* 89, translit. and translated Augapfel, p. 16 and Wallis, p. 121. Again, Bania, son of Amil-Nana is partner of one Jehunatan in various undertakings. See IX, 45 = *HAU*, 53 and *CBS* 5510, quoted by M. Stopler, *BASOR* 222, 1976, 25.

him"), were both proclaiming their faith forcefully. Only in the Greek age, when the Jews and the Greeks both lived in the Diaspora, could a Jew call his son Dionysios or Athenodoros without thinking of the heathen meaning of those names. In Persian Nippur as in Persian Elephantine the names still had a religious significance. At Elephantine, in the fifth century, sacred names constituted about 9/10 of Jewish anthroponymy.[44] A similar preference for religious names is apparent in the post-exilic onomastic of Jerusalem. But in Nippur the same result was achieved only in the last decades of the fifth century. This change was comparable to the Puritans' substitution of saints' names by biblical names, the latter announcing clearly that the child so named belonged to the chosen people of the New Israel. Let us now try to understand the historical meaning of the onomastic shift in Nippur.

III

The Jews were aliens in Babylonia, and on foreign soil a stranger bowed to foreign gods.[45] We all know that a king of Assyria commanded his colonists in Samaria to learn how they should worship YHWH, the Lord of their new land (II Kings 17:28). But, on the other hand, the Assyrian King Sargon ordered that the deportees to Assyria be taught to serve him and to worship Assyrian gods.[46] The Jews did not think otherwise. When David was driven out "from the inheritance of the Lord," his enemies mocked him, "Go, serve other gods" (I Sam. 26:19). Four centuries later the men of Jerusalem said of their brothers carried off to Babylonia, in 597, "They are far away from YHWH; to us this land is given in our possession" (Ezek. 11:15).

The worship of new gods, however, did not blot out the old faith. Indeed, the stranger needed double insurance against evil. The Assyrian colonists in Samaria learned to fear YHWH, yet continued to worship the gods of their fathers; the men of Cutha,

44 Silverman (n. 17), 488.

45 For the following cf. the chapter "Babylonian Captivity" in *Cambridge History of the Jews*, vol. I.

46 Sh. Paul, *JBL* 88, 1969, 73.

for instance, built altars to Nergal, the tutelary deity of their ancient city. In 529, the Egyptian community in Babylon settled a dispute by an oath invoking Bel and Nabu — Babylonian gods. But the same Egyptians, as their names show, still trusted the gods of their old country.[47] Similarly, descendants of the Assyrians who had been deported to Babylonia in 612, though worshipping the Babylonian deities, did not forget the god Ashur, and gave their children names glorifying the defeated humbled patron saint of their now destroyed and abandoned capital.[48] Both religious loyalties completed one another. "Fear of Power invisible, feigned by the mind, or imagined from tales, publicly allowed, Religion; not allowed, Superstition. And when the Power imagined is truly as we imagined, True Religion."[49] In a polytheistic society fear of power invisible made every traditional cult publicly allowed, that of Bel as that of YHWH.

The Jews in Babylonia likewise feared both the Lord of Jerusalem and the idols of Babylon. The prediction of Deuteronomy became fulfilled: They disobeyed the Lord, and were brought to a foreign land where they served gods of wood and stone (Deut. 4:28). In the sixth century a certain Shawash-shar-usur, who, as his name shows, was born under the protection of the Babylonian sun-god, named his daughter Yehoyishma, "May YHWH hear." On the other hand, about 545, a certain Isaiah naming his daughter Tabat-Ishtar put her under the protection of the goddess Ishtar.[50] Nonetheless, in the course of time devotion to ancestral gods dwelling far away could be expected to weaken. As we have already noted (p. 2), names compounded with the names of local West Semitic deities were rare in Persian Nippur. The religious situation of the Jews in the Babylonian captivity, however, was different. The ruin of Jerusalem clearly demonstrated the weakness of YHWH. While the Second Temple was destroyed during the siege,

[47] Dandamayev (above n. 4), 15–17.

[48] G. Goosens in *Rencontre Assyrologique Internationale* III (1952), 90.

[49] Th. Hobbes, *Leviathan* I, 6 (published in 1651).

[50] N. Avigad, *IEJ* 15 (1965) 228; Dandamayev (n. 4), 68. Cf. J. Kohler, F. E. Peiser, *Aus dem babylonischen Rechtsleben*, II (1892), 8.

Nebuchadnezzar burned Solomon's temple in cold blood, one month after the fall of Jerusalem (II Kings 25:9). The Babylonian king probably decided to punish in an exemplary fashion both the stiff-necked and perjurious people and the God who had not prevented their treacherous acts, and thus remove any doubt about the supremacy of his own gods. "Who among all the gods of the countries have delivered their countries out of my hand, that YHWH should deliver Jerusalem out of my hand?" (II Kings 18:35).

Further, the devotees of other humbled deities, of Ashur or of Sin, for instance, could serve them far away from the destroyed cathedrals. Nineveh became "a lair for wild beasts," (Zeph. 2:15) but "Lady Belit of Nineveh" continued to be worshiped in her temple in Babylon.[51] Nobody prevented the deportees of a destroyed city from building altars and offering sacrifices to their ancestral deities in the land of resettlement.[52] But after the religious revolution of King Josiah, the "Torah-true" Jews[53] could no longer worship the Lord except on top of Mount Zion. "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a foreign land?" (Ps. 137:4).[54] Moreover, when the Lord "spurned His altar and disowned His sanctuary" (Lam. 2:7), removal of guilt by sacrificial blood suddenly ceased, and "without the shedding of blood there is no expiation" (Heb. 9:22).[54a] Despondingly the Exiles cried out "Our transgressions and our sins are against us and we pine away because of them; how, then, can we live?" (Ezek. 33:10). Some

[51] Cf. E. Cassin, La splendeur divine, 1968, 36. Belit: E. Ebeling, *RLA* I, 351.

[52] W. G. Lambert in *Unity and Diversity*, ed. H. Goedicke and J. M. Roberts, 1975, 191: For ordinary people "the niche at home or the street corner shrine was the place of religion" in Babylonia.

[53] I borrow this expression from M. Greenberg's "Prolegomenon" to a reprint of C. C. Torrey, *Pseudo-Ezekiel* (1970), p. XIII.

[54] The rabbis understood that the Psalmist here speaks of Temple songs sung by the Levites. See *Midr. Tehill. ad loc.* This ancient interpretation disposes of childish "explanations" of modern commentators. What remains unexplained, despite wild conjectures of the rabbis, is v. 3. Why should the Babylonians demand from the Levites to sing the sacred songs in the Exile?

[54a] Cf. B. Levine, *In the Presence of the Lord*, 1974, 67–91.

fifty years later, on the eve of the miraculous liberation by Cyrus, their sons argued that they were sold by the Lord to the power of Babylon. Israel was divorced by God (Is. 50:1) — the idea which, as the rabbis saw, implied that the Exiles became freed from the obligations imposed by the Sinai covenant: A sold slave and a divorced wife owe nothing to their former masters.[55] In point of fact, the stories of Daniel and his companions (1:8) and of Tobit (1:10) leave no doubt that, as Ezekiel (4:12) predicted, the people of Israel ate their bread unclean in Babylon. Tobit was an exception because, as he says, he remembered God "with all my heart." The memory of other exiles was more accommodating.

As for the gods of Babylon — it was part of the sad lot of emigrants or exiles to be compelled to seek the favors of an alien god in an alien land, a deity who would, as was only natural, prefer his own flock to a late comer and unwilling conscript. Jeremiah's God, predicting the fate of His stiffnecked and rebellious people, adds: "Forasmuch as I will show you no favor" (Jer. 17:13).

All the dire predictions were fulfilled almost immediately. The Temple still stood on Zion when the Elders of those deported to Babylonia in 597 came to Ezekial saying they wanted to be like the nations around them and worship their gods (Ezek. 20:32). They did not mean to become apostates; on the contrary, they came to a prophet of YHWH to obtain His approval of their plan (Ezek. 14:3). In a foreign and uncomfortable land, they, fearing the Power Invisible of both Bel and YHWH needed double insurance. Moreover, it would be unnatural if the protection of the triumphant gods of Babel did not appear to them to be more reliable, at least in Babylonia. Almost fifty years later, on the eve of the fall of Babylon, a prophet of the Lord there proclaimed that YHWH had revealed in advance the events leading to the Redemption so that the Exiles, who swear by His name, would be

[55] R. Samuel and Resh Lakish (Sanh. 105 a). I owe this reference to Prof. J. Faur. Cf. B. Cohen, *Jewish and Roman Law* I, 1966, 227.

prevented from attributing their deliverance to false gods, boasting, "My idol did it" (Isa. 48:5).[56]

We should not underestimate the attraction of "sophisticated polytheism"[57] in Babylonia. The idols of Nebuchadnezzar and his heirs displayed their might and they were revered with fervor and magnificence. Their devotees lavished on them praises that paralleled the Hebrew liturgy: they spoke of Bel, who grasped the hand of the fallen, and of Beletis, his spouse, who releases the captives. These idols were terrible and merciful. They could impoverish the rich and make the destitute wealthy. "Who except you is Lord," a Babylonian priest asks of Marduk, "God of heaven and earth." And an inscription of the mother of King Nabonidus (555–539) reveals her truly pious and moving personal and ascetic devotion to Sin, the moon god of Harran.[58] We know those texts only from cuneiform documents, but a common (Aramaic) language united Babylonian priests and Jewish exiles.

Accordingly, we should expect that after a century of quiet and profitable life in Babylonia, the descendants of the exiles from Judah, who by now had built themselves houses, had planted gardens, had founded families, and had sought the welfare of Babylonia — for in her welfare they found their welfare (Jer. 29:5–7) — would also have largely accepted the Babylonian gods and, thus, the Babylonian religious onomastic. This really happened in the first generations born in the Exile, as the names of the princes of the house of David may exemplify. Jehoiachin, the last king of Judah, deported to Babylon in 586, where he was styled "prince," and four of the five courtiers deported with him,

[56] We pass over the insoluble question whether the Jews in the Exile built shrines to YHWH, as Morton Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testement* (1971), 90, argues. Nor do we have any information on pagan religious practices of the Jews in the Babylonian Exile. The difference between public and private worship remains essential. Cf. Greenberg (n. 53), p. XXIII-XXIV and M. Smith, *ZAW* 87, 1975, 11–16.; V. Fritz, *Die Welt des Orients*, 1973, 137.

[57] I borrow this expression from the above quoted paper of Lambert (n. 52).

[58] Cf. *ANET*, 332 and 560; W. v. Soden, *Iraq* 31, 1969, 88; M. Smith, *JBL* 71, 1952, 135–147.; W. L. Lambert, *Arch. für Orientforschung* 19, 1959, 66.

bore Yahwistic names.[59] But Sheshbazzar, "the prince of Judah," who in 539 brought back to Jerusalem the sacred vessels that had been carried to Babylon in 586, bore a name marking him as a worshipper of the Babylonian moon god Sin; and Zerubbabel, who rebuilt the Temple, bore a name that meant "Offspring of Babel." Again, two out of the ten (or eleven) advisers who went with him to Jerusalem in 520 were named after Bel-Marduk of Babylon (Ezra 2:2 = Neh. 7:7). In less exalted milieu the situation was similar. In cuneiform documents we find given names and patronymics of some Yahwistic families living in the period from 540 to 457. Here fathers bearing Yahwistic names give their children either Yahwistic or Babylonian theophoric names while fathers called after Babylonian gods bestow such names as Shabbethai on their offspring.[60] This, of course, is the natural and regular practice in any polytheistic society: A man named after the Babylonian god Nabu calls his son Rabbi-'El, and a man called 'Aqabi'el ("God has rewarded") names his son "The gift of Nabu" (Nabu-natanu). But when, in 468, Ezra went up to Jerusalem, not one of his companion bore a pagan theophoric name (Ezra 8). Likewise, as we have seen, no Jew, or rather, no pious Jew (except a survivor of the generation of grandfathers, e.g., Ardi-ninurta, cf. above, p. 11), engaged in business transactions with the house of Murashu in Nippur, had a name containing a foreign divine element, though among their fathers the ratio of Yahwistic and Jewish names to Babylonian theophoric names was 2:1. We can approximately date this change.

The documents in question, with one exception, were written between 439 and 419. We may reasonably suppose that Hanani, who witnessed a document in 439, was about thirty years old at

[59] E. Weidner, *Mélanges Dussaud* II, 1939, 923–935. Cf. W. F. Albright, *BA* 5, 142, 41–5; Zadok II, 13.

[60] I use here the data collected by Zadok II, 7 and 14. We have three Yahwistic fathers and three fathers bearing Babylonian theophoric names. Out of six children, three have Jewish names and three have Babylonian theophoric names. For instance, one Hosea(?) names his son Beliddina, and one Belzerabni calls his son Shabbathai.

that date. He may have received his name between 480 and 470. His father, Belitannu, was probably born about 500. Again, in January of 436, Miniamin, son of Belabausur is mentioned as rent collector. Seventeen years later he is rent collector of a district.[61] At that time, in 419, he must have been in his fifties. We may place his birth about 470. Thus, it would seem, that approximately between 480 and 470 devoted Jews began to shun idolatrous names for their offspring.[62] At this point, let us stress again that less pious Jews surely continued to give Babylonian theophoric names to their children.

How is the beginning and the spread of this puritan onomastic to be explained? In the absence of the relevant documentation we cannot even guess why the movement, as it seems, started about 480. There had always been Jews of stubborn faith, those for whom the smiting of unfaithful Jerusalem and the abandonment of His defiled Temple were manifestations of the absolute power of the Lord. While other Jews, to speak with Elijah, "limped" and swayed between YHWH and Baal, the "YHWH-alone"[63] group, as its spokesmen Ezekiel and Second Isaiah show, unyieldingly demanded that the exiles and their descendants serve YHWH exclusively. For them not only had His power been displayed in the triumph of Babylon over Jerusalem but had been equally revealed in Babylon's subsequent fall. History confirmed the truth of prophecies. Therefore, their faith in YHWH, to repeat the terminology of Hobbes (above, p. 12) was True Religion and, necessarily, the sole True Religion. They kept to it unwaveringly. As our Table I shows, there were Jewish families that for three generations avoided giving Babylonian theophoric names to their

61 X, 119 and 64.

62 The earliest text (except IX, 3 of 453), where a Jew has a pagan patronymic is X, 8 *ap.* Cardascia, 83. The latest are *X*, 94 and *UM* 104, written in 419. On Miniamin, see IX, 14 (transl. HAU, 73) and *UM* 104 (transl. Ebeling, 22; translit. and transl. Wallis, 87). On his administrative position see Cardascia, 86 n. 3.

63 I use this formula coined by Morton Smith (n. 56), 29. This paper could not have been written without Morton Smith's eye-opening analysis of varieties of religious experience in biblical Israel.

children. There is no non-Jewish name in the genealogy of Ezra (7:1).

Lacking ecclesiastical power, the monotheistic group could not coerce their errant brothers. We may imagine that the latitudinarians thought that they were carried by the wave of the future; in fact, they remained in the backwater of history. The undeceived won the undecided. Grandfathers had placed their sons under the protection of Babylonian gods, but those sons, born and brought up in a presumably more or less syncretistic milieu, rebelled against the laxity of the fathers and joined the monotheistic movement. A grandfather was named Ninurta-uballit ("The god Ninurta called me to life"). He dutifully named his son Ardi-Ninurta, "Servant of Ninurta." But the latter named his own son Hanan. As the document naming him and his son as his partner was written in 452,[64] we may suppose that Hanan had received his name about 480–475. In a document of 418 a man, who must be 30–40 years at that date, makes a contract with the manager of a Persian grandee for sheep breeding. The name of his father was a popular one in Babylonia: Shulum-Babili, "Welfare of Babylon." But this father named his son "Who is as strong as YHWH?" (Man-nu-dan-ni-iama).[65]

This onomastic shift explains the success of Ezra and Nehemiah in the reign of Artaxerxes II (465–424). Were it not for the "YHWH-alone" groups in Nippur and elsewhere in Babylonia and the Persian Diaspora, who cajoled and convinced the Persian court, Ezra in 458 and Nehemiah in 445 would not have been sent to re-establish the True Religion in Jerusalem.

The break with syncretism occurred in the generation of Ezra, who, probably, was born about 500. The sons of this generation, all bearing Yahwistic, Jewish, or foreign secular names, speak to us through Nehemiah. Royal cupbearer in 445, he was, presumably, not more than 25 years old at that date, a contemporary of the Torah-true Jews who signed contracts with the Murashu

[64] IX, 3 (translit. and transl. Augapfel, p. 82, transl. Cardascia, p. 170).
[65] *UM* 148 (translit. and transl. Augapfel, p. 83).

house in Nippur. His patronymic (Hacaliah) shows that he belonged to the traditional "YHWH-alone" family. His religious fervor, which to a latitudinarian would resemble fanaticism, the fire that burns but does not consume, which permeates his report to the God of Heaven about his activities in Jerusalem, makes us understand the return of the syncretists to the monotheistic fold. The intransigency of the "YHWH-alone" movement captured the imagination and won the young hearts of the sons of the latitudinarian "silent majority."[66] "I would thou wert cold or hot." They who are neither hot nor cold, but comfortably lukewarm, lose the world to come and this one as well.

Columbia University, March 1977

[66] Cf. the description of Christian propaganda by Celsus (Orig. c. Cels. 3, 55) with the commentary of W. den Boer, *Athenaeum* N.S. 54, 1976, 309.

TABLE I

(The bracketed numbers refer to the lists in Zadok II)

Yahwistic Fathers[a]

1. Bedeiah f. of Tattanu (94)
2. Benaiah f. of Aqabia (51)
3. Hananiah f. of Gukka (35)
4. Hananiah f. of Hanan (65)
5. Jedaiah f. of Ahiah, Pediah, Simeon and Jehonathan (16–20)
6. Jedaiah, f. of Eliada (77)
7. Ja-a-hu-la-qi-im f. of Shillim (45)
8. Mattaniah f. of Jehonathan (93)
9. Pediah f. of Hanan (87)
10. Pelaiah f. of Sherebiah (48)
11. Pelatiah f. of .....iama (86)
12. Tobiah f. of Hanan, Zabina, Benaiah, Zebadiah, and Bibya (26–30).
13. Zebadiah f. of Micaiah (33)

a) Ba-na-ia-a-ma, f. of Ra-hi-im (*UM* 5) is excluded from our list because he lived in Babylon. See Zadok II, p. 15, n. 14. The bracketed figures refer to the list of Zadok II, 16–18).

Table I (Cont.)

Non-Yahwistic Fathers

14. Bauetir f. of Aqabia (60)
15. Beluballit f. of Mattaniah (63)
16. Belshunu f. of Berechiah (64)
17. Hinnibel f. of Zebadiah (84)
18. Nanaiddina f. of Igdaliah (38)
19. Rahim-el f. of Gedaliah (35)
20. Shabbethai f. of Gedaliah (88)
21. Shabbethai f. of Abijah (41)
22. Shillim f. of Pelaiah (44)
23. Shirka f. of Mattaniah (92)
24. Shulumbabili[b] f. of Manu-tani-iama (79)
25. Tameshladin f. of Jedaiah (75)
26. Tu-ub-ha[c] f. of Jehozabad (52)
27. Udarna f. of Hananiah (24)
28. Useh[d] f. of Mattaniah (50)
29. Zabina f. of Bealiah, Miciah and Menahem (27)[e]
30. Zabdia brother of Udarna (23)

Yahwistic Sons

1. Abijah s. of Shabbethai (41)
2. Ahiah s. of Jedaiah (17)
3. Aqabia s. of Benaiah (51)
4. Aqabia s. of Bauetir (60)
5. Bealiah s. of Zabina (32)
6. Benaiah s. of Tobiah (28)
7. Berechiah s. of Belshunu (64)
8. Gedaliah s. of Rahim-el (33)
9. Gedaliah s. of Shabbathai (88)
10. Hananiah s. of Tobiah (28)
11. Hananiah s. of Udarna (24)
12. Igdaliah s. of Nanaiddina (38)
13. Jedaiah s. of Tameshladin (75)
14. Jehonathan s. of Mattaniah (93)
15. Jehonathan s. of Jedaiah (20)
16. Jehozabad s. of Tu-ub-ha (52)

b) Owing to a typing error his name is omitted in Zadok's list no. 79.
c) On this name see Zadok II, p.
d) On this name (also spelled Amuseh) see Zadok II, 9.
e) I follow here the opinion of M. W. Stolper, stated in his letter of Feb. 15, 1977.

Table I (Cont.)

17. Manu-tani-iama s. of Shulumbabili (79)[f]
18. Mattaniah s. of Shirka (92)
19. Mattaniah s. of Deluballit (63)
20. Mattaniah s. of Useh (50)
21. Miciah s. of Zabina (33)
22. Pediah s. of Jediah (17)
23. Pelaiah s. of Shillim (44)
24. Sherebiah s. of Pelaiah (48)
25. Zebadiah s. of Tobiah (29)
26. Zebadiah s. of Hinnibel (84)
27. ..... iama s. of Pelatiah (86)

Non-Yahwistic Sons

28. Barik-el, brother of Gedailiah[g]
29. Bibya son of Tobiah (30)
30. Eliada s. of Jedaiah (77)
31. Gukka s. of Hananiah (34)
32. Hanan, son of Tubiah (26)
33. Hanan s. of Pedaiah (87)
34. Hanan s. of Hananiah (65)
35. Shillim s. of Ja-a-hu-la-qi-im (49)
36. Simeon s. of Jedaiah (19)
37. Tattanu s. of Bedeiah (94)
38. Zabina s. of Tobiah (27)
39. Bel-itannu s.(?) of Zabdià (25)[h]

Grandfathers

Apla, f. of Hananiah (34)
Benaiah (Bana'el), f. of Jedaiah (16)
Rahim-el, f. of Udarna and Zabdia (22–23)
Barik-el, f. of Rahim-el (35)
Tobiah. See above p. 000.

Grandson

Shapikalbi, s. of Ahiah (21)[i]

f) The name is also spelled Man-nu-dan-ni-iama. The same is true of the spelling of the name of the son of Useh. Cf. M. D. Coogan, *J. for Study of Judaism* 6, 1976, 199 and M. W. Stolper, *BASOR* 222, 1976, 26.

g) On this brother(?) of Gedaliah and, thus, a son(?) of Rahim-el, see Cardascia, 180.

h) See above, p. 000.

i) The name means "foundling." J. J. Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung*, 1939, 320.

TABLE II

Hi(?)-d-ta-s-shab-p(?)-(ta?)-a, s. of Shabbethai (59)
Jashub, s. of Ha-ka-a (85)
Liblut and Shabbethai, sons of Shirka (68–69)
Menachem, son of Zabina (31)
Miniamin, son of Bania (43)
Nathan, son of Shillem (37)
Sethur, son of Shabbethai (36)
Shabbethai, son of Haggai (90)
Shabbethai, son of Hi-il-lu-mu-tu (55)
Shillem, son of Pania (45)

The first given name is unintellgible, and the name Hi-il-lu-mu-tu is inexplicable, but they are neither theophoric nor "Jewish," therefore "neutral." The name Bania can be Jewish, West-Semitic or Babylonian. See Tallquist (above n. 30). But the biblical hypocoristicon Bani suggests that in our context the name is an abbreviation of the Yahwistic name Benaiah, "YHWM has built" (see Table I). The hypocoristicon Pania is Akkadian or West-Semitic. See Zadok II, p. 29. On the name Haggai and its cuneiform spellings, cf. Zadok II, p. 8 and also L. T. Gerarty, *BASOR* 219, 1975, 73. On the name Hakka, see Zadok II, p. 6. In our list I omitted Zadok's (82) because the reading is uncertain.

TABLE III (The Hanan Group)

The references in brackets refer to publications of the Murashu documents, but the numbers preceeded by Z refer to the list in Zadok II. The name of sons is Hanan, except when another name is given.

Fathers: 1. Ardi-Gula (IX, 3); 2. Barik el (UM, 215); 3. Bel (X, 24); 4. Beletir (UM 153); 5. Belitannu (IX, 8); 6. Belshunu (UM 65); 7. Hananiah, f. of Gukka (Z. 34); 8. Hananiah (Z. 65); 9. Hanani, f. of Jediael (IX, 14); 10. Idinnabu (UM 179); 11. Menahem (Z. p. 45); 12. Ninurtaetir (X, 61); 13. Ninurtauballit (IX, 6); 14. Pediah (Z. 87); 15. Tabia (X, 13, 2); 16. Tubiah (Z. p. 17); 17. Udarna (Z. 22); 18. Rahim, brother of 2.

Sons: Gubba, another son of 13; Gukka, son of 7; Jediael, son of 10; Ha-an-nani (*vel simile*), 12 persons (sons of 2–4, 6, 8, 11–14, 16–17, 24); Hanan (*vel simile*), 4 persons (sons of 1, 5, 10, 15).

AMERICAN JEWISH REACTIONS TO ANTI-SEMITISM IN WESTERN EUROPE, 1875–1900*

By Naomi W. Cohen

The manifestations of anti-Semitism in western Europe in the last quarter of the nineteenth century troubled American Jews on several levels. In the first place they were ever-sensitive to the sufferings and disabilities of fellow-Jews. Their public protests on the Damascus blood libel of 1840 and the Mortara case of 1859, and their resolutions celebrating the passage of the Jew Bill in England in 1858, were but the more dramatic highlights of a fixed tradition going back to colonial times and marked by an interest encompassing far-flung communities in Palestine, China, and Latin America as well as in Europe.[1] Since most of them were first generation immigrants, many with personal experiences of some form of anti-Jewish prejudice in the Old World, they empathized fully with those who became the whipping boys of the Stoeckers, the Luegers, and the Drumonts. Even Reform Jews who denied

* This study is limited to the English-speaking American Jewish community which constituted the "American Jewish establishment."

The following abbreviations are used in the notes: *AH* = *American Hebrew*, *AI* = *American Israelite*, *JM* = *Jewish Messenger*, *NYT* = *New York Times*.

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[1] On the Damascus affair see Joseph L. Blau and Salo W. Baron, eds., *The Jews of the United States, 1790–1840* (3 vols. New York and Philadelphia, 1963), III, 887–8, 924–55. On the Mortara case see Bertram Wallace Korn, *The American Reaction to the Mortara Case* (Cincinnati, 1957). Resolutions on the Jew Bill appear in the *Occident*, XVI (1858), 346–7, 403 ff. The *Occident*, the first important American Jewish periodical, set the pattern of reporting fully on foreign Jewish communities. For early interest of American Jews in Jews abroad, especially Palestine, see Jacob R. Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew, 1492–1776* (3 vols. Detroit, 1970), II, 1041–7.

Jewish nationhood insisted that persecution in Europe outraged and insulted Jews all over the world.[2]

But the new anti-Semitism evoked more than sympathetic concern across the Atlantic. It confounded American Jews, because it threatened the confidence and hopes of their Emancipationist thinking. To the American Jew as to all western Jews in the post-French revolutionary era, anti-Semitism was a throwback to medieval barbarism, a hatred nurtured by rigid ecclesiasticism, and, therefore, a condition that would disappear when society was exposed to the rays of enlightenment. Then, socially and politically emancipated, Jews would contribute alongside their compatriots to the culture and economic prosperity of their respective countries and thus to the advance of civilization generally. With reason and liberalism as the passwords to continuing progress, nineteenth century western Jews looked forward to the future with unqualified optimism. Events after the Franco-Prussian War leading in Germany to the emergence of anti-Semitism as a political movement and in France to the Dreyfus Affair broke the spell. Those countries were light years away from autocratic Turkey or despotic Russia where the Enlightenment had not yet penetrated and anti-Semitism could still be accounted for. In France, the fount of liberty and equality, and in Germany, the birthplace of "modern science and scholarship", anti-Semitism was an unexpected development.[3]

Before 1875 American Jews in pulpit and press frequently pointed to the inexorable unfolding of material and spiritual progress. Badly shaken by events in Europe they reverted less and less to that theme in the next twenty-five years, and within those years they even admitted to feelings of gloom.[4]

[2] *AI*, Aug. 5, Sept. 23, 1881.

[3] *JM*, May 20, 1892; *AH*, Dec. 5, 1879.

[4] The *AI*, which began publication in 1854, offers good examples of the contrast in moods. In 1855 the paper confidently asserted that all mankind would embrace the universalist principle of liberty (July 13, 1855). Thirty-seven years later, still under the control of Isaac Mayer Wise, it wrote in connection with European anti-Semitism: "How could the nineteenth century, with all its grand achievements, thus deny and belie its glorious predecessor,

No doubt many American Jews felt personally as well as philosophically betrayed. Overwhelmingly German in origin, they had taken great pride in their heritage. Often allied with non-Jewish Germans they sought to perpetuate different German cultural forms in America. David Einhorn, the leader of the radical wing of American Reform, even said that Reform Judaism stripped of the German language and German spirit would, like an uprooted plant, wither away.[5] Now, rebuffed in Germany and even at times by those German Americans who took their cue from the fatherland, could or should German Jews in the United States, as the *American Israelite* and the *Jewish Messenger* admonished, give up their German ways?[6]

The new anti-Semitism was fraught with psychological trauma as well. Since western European Jewry served as the religious and cultural reservoir for the young American Jewish community, what American Jews were witnessing was the humiliation of their Jewish parents, a spectacle that could shake their faith in Judaism itself.

Of paramount concern to American Jews was the prospect of anti-Semitic reverberations in the United States. Despite periodic affirmations by Jewish spokesmen that America was different, that there was no Jewish question in the United States, and that anti-Jewish agitation could not gain a foothold in this country,[7] they worried and justifiably so. Some who concluded that German anti-Semitism sparked the Russian pogroms of 1881 could see the epidemic spreading westward. In an address delivered at a con-

the eighteenth century? How could the civilized world so retrograde in moral principle and humane sentiments?" (Sept. 22, 1892).

[5] Rudolf Glanz, *Studies in Judaica Americana* (New York, 1970), pp. 98–100, 203–48; *JM*, July 18, 1879.

[6] *JM*, Dec. 10, 1880, Mar. 29, 1895; *AI*, May 13, 1881, Feb. 22, 1878 Jan. 12, 1893; Glanz, *Studies*, pp. 103, 273; Isaac M. Fein, *The Making of an American Jewish Community* (Philadelphia, 1971), p. 203; John Higham, *Send These To Me* (New York, 1975), p. 133; Simon Wolf, *Selected Addresses and Papers* (Cincinnati, 1926), p. 34.

[7] *JM*, Jan. 21, 1876 (S. Morais), Aug. 15, 1894, Apr. 18, 1890; *AI*, Dec. 14, 1883 (H. Greenbaum), May 8, 1890; *AH*, June 14, 1895, Mar. 20, 1896; H. Vidaver, *Ancient and Modern Anti-Semitism* (Baltimore, 1882), p. 7.

ference of the Jewish Ministers' Association in New York in 1890, Rabbi Marcus Jastrow said:

> A drop of poison has been instilled into the blood of Western nations causing a distemper contagious to its nature, and, there is no use in denying it, the contagion has reached our beloved country, and the poison, too, has been imported, and it works its way into the heart of our community, destroying the social peace which heretofore has been its just pride.[8]

Since the new anti-Semitism manifested itself mainly through the writings of Jew-baiters — from the sensational diatribes of a Wilhelm Marr or Edouard Drumont to the more respectable prose of a Goldwin Smith or Edward Freeman — its indictments of the Jew were bound to reach the American reading public. Those who did not read the anti-Semitic pamphlets or articles were clued in by American newspapers and journals where summaries of charges, rejoinders, and counter-rejoinders were presented. (So popular did the Jewish question become that it was the subject of talks at two college commencements in 1883.)[9] Since the anti-Semites did not usually sort out Jewish traits according to geographical location, it was clear that their briefs against the physically and morally degenerate Jew, who was an economic parasite and swindler, disloyal citizen, and a plotter of the downfall of Christian civilization, could apply to American Jews too. Within a very short time after anti-Semitism became popular in Bismarck's Germany, American Jews talked about prejudice in general terms, thus admitting that they stood in the dock with their European brethren.

Anti-Semitic propaganda reached different strata of the American public through various channels. The British historian Goldwin Smith assailed the tribalism and racial traits of the Jews in the columns of the respectable *North American Review* and *Nation.*

[8] M. Jastrow, *The Causes of the Revived Disaffection Against the Jews* (New York, 1890), pp. 9–10; *AI*, Oct. 10, 1879, Sept. 23, 1881, Feb. 10, 1882; *AH* Sept. 2, 1881, Aug. 22, 1884, Apr. 5, 1895 (L. Grossman).

[9] *JM*, June 29, July 7, 1883.

Madame Z. Ragozin used *Century Magazine* to blame the pogroms of 1881 on the repellent and immoral beliefs and behavior of the Jews. Some of the more popular magazines, like the comic weeklies, drew inspiration directly from European anti-Semites for their caricatures of Jews. For those who read only newspaper headlines, even the *New York Times*, usually a foe of anti-Semitism, seemingly propagated the ritual murder charge. Its headline for the trial after the Tisza-Ezlar blood libel read: "Blood In Passover Bread. A Christian Girl Killed By Jews For The Sake Of Her Blood."[10]

Edouard Drumont and *La France Juive* similarly filtered down to different classes. Drumont's work apparently influenced novelist Lafcadio Hearn to turn from philo-Semitism to anti-Semitism; it also encouraged the mounting Jew-phobia of Henry Adams, frustrated scion of the patrician establishment. Another respectable follower was a professor of Greek and theology in Columbus, Ohio. In an article written for the prestigious *Andover Review*, he cited Drumont as his source for attacking the morals and the evil economic power of Jewry. A Catholic bishop writing in the *New York Sun* also referred to Drumont when he charged the Jews, specifically the Alliance Israélite Universelle, with working to establish Jewish domination of the world.[11] For the less erudite, Drumont's book appeared in a popular American version as *The Original Mr. Jacobs* by a Telemachus T. Timayenis. Timayenis acknowledged his debt to Drumont in the preface to the book, but only a reading of the two books side by side reveals the enormity of that debt. Not only did Timayenis quote from Drumont, but he summarized, paraphrased, and lifted entire paragraphs and pages from the two volume French work. His contribution was

[10] "New Light on the Jewish Question," *North American Review*, CLIII (August 1891); letter to editor, *Nation*, Mar. 3, 1881, p. 148; "Russian Jews and Gentiles," *Century Magazine*, XXIII (April 1882), Glanz, *Studies*, p. 103; *JM*, Feb. 26, 1892; *NYT*, June 23, 1883.

[11] Sol Liptzin, *The Jew in American Literature* (New York, 1966), p. 83; Ernest Samuels, *Henry Adams, The Major Phase* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), pp. 167–8; George H. Schodde, "The Anti-Semitic Agitation in Europe," *Andover Review*, XI (April 1889); *AH*, Sept. 6, 1889.

to shorten the book to a 300 page volume, to expunge Drumont's sections critical of Freemasons, Protestants and Americans, which would alienate American readers, and to include material on American Jews. Untroubled by the dictates of logic he attacked Jews for their money power as well as for their "socialistic" designs aimed at undermining civil order, the national fiber, and the American worker. In short, *The Original Mr. Jacobs* is a direct precursor of the charges popularized by the Protocols of the Elders of Zion: the Jew, simultaneously the capitalist and the Bolshevik, who is first and foremost out to destroy Christian civilization.[12]

Two dedicated European anti-Semitic agitators appeared in the United States in the persons of Adolf Stoecker and Hermann Ahlwardt. Stoecker, the ex-court chaplain of Berlin who was known to the world as the "leader of the Jew baiters," was the more circumspect. He visited the United States in 1893, officially in connection with a Lutheran missionary convention. Perhaps to reassure a hostile press which had warned him to refrain from Jew-baiting here, he announced that he would not discuss anti-Semitism. Nevertheless, in two speeches in New York he explained his hatred of Germany's Jews, charging them with absorbing the wealth of the country while simultaneously fomenting the spirit of Marxist revolution. When he stated that Germany could not live by the Jewish spirit any more than America could, Stoecker revealed that he was not averse to spreading the anti-Semitic gospel at least among his German-speaking audiences. In a statement published by the *New York Times*, Stoecker added that Americans were too clever for the Jew, because they refused to permit him to push himself where he was not welcome.[13]

Ahlwardt arrived in New York two years later with the openly admitted purpose of disseminating propaganda. A sensationalist pamphleteer and demagogue whose influence contributed to anti-

[12] *The Original Mr. Jacobs* (New York, 1888); Leonard A. Greenberg and Harold J. Jonas, "An American Anti-Semite in the Nineteenth Century" in Joseph L. Blau *et al.*, eds., *Essays on Jewish Life and Thought* (New York, 1959).

[13] *NYT*, Sept. 2, Oct. 4, 5, 1893; *AH*, Sept. 15, 29, Oct. 13, 1893.

Jewish riots in Germany, he planned a lecture tour for the purpose of organizing an anti-Semitic movement in America. His arrival was denounced by prominent German Americans. Leading American Jews, when interviewed by reporters, would admit to no concern, and a group of New York Christian clergymen in a public resolution condemned Ahlwardt's bigotry and his attempt to transplant German hatred to American shores. Ahlwardt's initial appearances in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and New Jersey were marked by egg-throwing and near riots. (At the meeting at Cooper Union it was estimated that one-third of the audience was made up of police, one-third of Jews, and one-third of ethnic laborers.) Ahlwardt himself was assaulted and beaten up a few months later by ruffians allegedly hired by the Jews. He managed, though, to found a short-lived American Anti-Semitic Association and newspaper, *Der Antisemit*, both in New York, before he faded from the scene. After the failure of his lecture tour he appeared in the fall of 1896 as a supporter of William Jennings Bryan and the silver crusade. He circulated a campaign sheet called the *Gentile News* directed principally against the House of Rothschild and the gold clique. Ahlwardt also fought the Jews by supporting the immigration restrictionist movement. He claimed that his efforts influenced members of Congress to vote for a restrictive bill in February 1897.[14]

Any assessment of what kind of impact the anti-Semitic propaganda and the news of agitation in Germany, Austria, and France had in America in the 1880's and 1890's must take into

[14] Israel Cohen, *Anti-Semitism in Germany* (London, 1918), pp. 14–6; *NYT*, Nov. 22, 30, Dec. 4, 6, 7, 13, 14, 15, 1895, Mar. 17, Apr. 7, 8, Sept. 15, 1896; *AH*, Feb. 5, 1897. Only one issue (Mar. 21, 1896) of *Der Antisemit* seems to have been printed; its contents are summarized in Karl Knortz, *Das amerikanische Judentum* (Leipzig, 1914), pp. 24–43. The well-known story of how Theodore Roosevelt, then Police Commissioner of New York City, assigned 40 Jewish policemen to guard Ahlwardt appears in Roosevelt, *Autobiography* (New York, 1925), pp. 186–87. Ahlwardt's anti-Semitic organization lobbied specifically for restricting the immigration of Russian Jews. *Congressional Record*, 54 Cong. 1 Sess., p. 5215.

account the fact that the reverberations from Europe could not have come at a worse time. The last quarter of the nineteenth century in the United States witnessed grave economic and social disturbances. Coupled with an upsurge in nationalist, anti-foreign sentiment, they coalesced into what Professor John Higham has called a "likely context for anti-Semitism." Within that context American Jews began to feel the hardening of social discrimination. Joseph Seligman's exclusion from the Grand Union Hotel in Saratoga in 1877 was not the first incident of its kind, but that episode, like the refusal of the New York Bar Association that very same year to admit Jews, seemed to trigger an ever-widening acceptance of fixed boundaries which Jews could not cross.[15]

During those same years racism and superiority of the Teuton were taught at American universities in the classes of men like Herbert Baxter Adams of Johns Hopkins and John W. Burgess of Columbia — both, incidentally, trained in Germany. If, as those historians said, the non-Aryan had no capacity for self-government, the Jews would be less welcome than heretofore in American society.[16] Furthermore, the acceptance of racial distinctions meant that it would be harder, if at all possible, for Jews (as opposed to ethnic groups like the Scandinavians or Irish) ever to assimilate.

The waves of immigrants streaming into the United States between 1880–1900 were also a potential challenge to the security of American Jews. The latter feared the non-Jewish immigrant as a possible carrier of European anti-Semitism — a view which Jewish spokesmen had voiced for many years. The Jewish immigrant posed even a greater threat. The traits of the east-European Jews which many Americans found so repulsive were likely to influence their opinions of the established Jewish community as well. Those same traits also provided grist for the mills of the growing immigration restrictionist movement, and if restrictionists

[15] Higham, *Send These To Me*, pp. 129–30, 148–51; *JM*, Apr. 20, 1877.

[16] Edward N. Saveth, *American Historians and European Immigrants, 1875–1925* (New York, 1965), pp. 20, 23–4, 47–8; Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Philadelphia, 1945), pp. 148–50.

had their way, what hope could American Jews hold out to their brethren in eastern Europe?[17]

All these circumstances bespoke a heightened suspicion and antipathy toward American Jews in that period. The European message of anti-Semitism was thus assured an audience which was increasingly receptive. With reinforcements from Europe, American currents of racism and discrimination derived greater strength, and the position of American Jews became correspondingly more vulnerable.

II

The English-speaking, established and acculturated American Jewish community reached no consensus on the causes of western anti-Semitism. Individuals and newspapers often reversed themselves, at times advancing certain reasons which they had previously rejected. They raised the question of causes over and over again, indicating that a satisfactory explanation continued to elude them.

Many American Jews held religious prejudice to blame at least partially for stimulating the new agitation, and some of those saw it as a relic of medieval persecution. Do not be misled by the learned term anti-Semitism, Mayer Sulzberger wrote; the movement in Germany is an attack on freedom of religion. Some Jews dwelt on the importance of the deicide charge, and the *American Hebrew*, which ran a symposium in 1890 on the causes of anti-Semitism, often faulted Christian religious instruction for planting the seeds of hatred.[18]

[17] *Asmonean*, Aug. 16, Dec. 27, 1850; *JM*, Dec. 14, 1865, Aug. 15, 1884; *AI*, Dec. 5, 1895. Fear of non-Jewish immigrants led Jews to endorse Theodore Roosevelt's warnings to the new arrivals not to inject their religious or national prejudices into American society. *JM*, Jan. 17, 1890, Feb. 23, 1894. On the restrictionists' use of anti-Jewish imagery, see Barbara M. Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants* (New York, 1965), pp. 167–71.

[18] Jastrow, *Causes*, pp. 5–7; Henry Hanaw, *Jew Hating and Jew Baiting*, Essay read at Nashville, Tenn., May 20, 1894; Felix Adler in *NYT*, May 29, 1893; Mayer Sulzberger, letter to the editor, *Penn Monthly*, XII (February

American Jews also declared that the anti-Semitic movement drew strength from popular envy and resentment of the Jew's material success and prominence.[19] Interestingly enough, they made no serious attempt to play down the affluence of the Jew or the Rothschild myth. The *American Israelite*, however, was especially annoyed by the anti-Semitic plaint that the Jews were fast achieving the "judaization" of society. If judaization meant Jewish domination, the charge was ridiculous, the paper insisted, for how could a small minority accomplish so much. On the appearance of Drumont's book the paper commented: "It must be a stupid little world which is governed by a handful of Jews and a handful of Freemasons." It added sarcastically that if the charge of judaization were really true, it constituted reason enough for Europeans to convert to Judaism as fast as possible. As for the complaint that the non-Jew could not compete with the Jew, that certainly was not the latter's fault. Here the *American Israelite* was more serious, and it blamed church and government for failing to educate the masses properly.[20]

Many Jewish commentators noted the political motives behind German anti-Semitism, particularly the position of the Catholic Church and what was called "Jesuitism against Judaism." Bismarck was roundly denounced, but when the conservative *Jewish Mes-*

1881), 102; *Prejudice Against the Jew*: A Symposium By Foremost Christians Published in "The American Hebrew," April 4, 1890 (New York, 1928), pp. 25–6; *JM*, Feb. 27, 1880, Aug. 31, 1888; *AI*, July 1, 1881, May 4, 1893 (A. Moses); *AH*, Dec. 3, 1880, Jan. 21, 1881 (S. Morais), May 29, 1885, Nov. 2, 1888, Nov. 3, 1893 (K. Kohler). The references I have gleaned from the *JM*, *AI*, and *AH* are too numerous to be listed, and I have therefore cited only a few. I have followed the same procedure in notes 19, 21, 25, 30, 34, 36, 45, 48–51, 59, 63, 65.

[19] Vidaver, *Anti-Semitism*, p. 6, *JM*, June 27, 1879, May 20, 1892, Nov. 3, 1899 (H. Morais); *AI*, Dec. 19, 1879, Sept. 15, 1882 (M.L.G.), Apr. 20, 1893 (J. Krauskopf); *AH*, Dec. 5, 1879, Nov. 23, 1883.

[20] *AI*, Nov. 14, 1879, Feb. 22, 1884, May 22, 1885, Sept. 3, 1886. For comments on the idea of so much power being wielded by so few, cf. *New Orleans Times-Democrat* in *AI*, Mar. 9, 1883; James K. Hosmer, *The Story of the Jews* (New York, 1899), p. 357.

senger called him the "prince of communists," the paper was invoking a symbol of upheaval and radical change as well as a bogey which always shocked proper Americans.[21]

Mention was also made of the nationalist and anti-foreign sentiments underlying anti-Semitism.[22] The *American Israelite* offered perhaps the most sophisticated analysis when it interpreted European anti-Semitism as a weapon of conservatives (lay and clerical) to hold on to the old order in the face of increasing materialism and secularization. What was new and distasteful in an urbanized, modernized economy seemed to be summed up in the person of the Jew. The paper also understood that in the contest between modernity and reaction, the western Jews could identify only with the new order.[23]

But although they recognized multiple causes for anti-Semitism American Jews were reluctant to acknowledge the racist component of the movement. True, Rabbi Bernhard Felsenthal admitted that antagonism focused on the Jewish race and religion, and he himself acknowledged racist categories when he spoke of Russian Jews as Asiatics or semi-Asiatics. Rabbi Marcus Jastrow was more profound. Since religion was no longer enough to evoke hatred in an enlightened country, he said, science was harnessed to provide justification, in terms of Aryan versus Semite, for the persecution of the Jew. But their opinions were in a minority. Felix Adler, the founder of the Ethical Culture movement, resented the very term Semitism, since it sought to stigmatize the Jews as Orientals and implied their unassimilability with the Aryans. He explained that religious prejudice and nationalism underlay the anti-Jewish manifestation. Professor Morris Jastrow, in complete disagreement with his father, took great pains to refute the race theory. It was environmental conditioning and not immutable racist

[21] Vidaver, *Anti-Semitism*, pp. 7, 11; Jastrow, *Causes*, p. 9; Felix Adler, *The Revival of Anti-Semitism* (New York, 1921), p. 1; *JM*, Nov. 5, 1875, Dec. 3, 17, 1880, May 20, 1892, Nov. 3, 1899 (H. Morais); *AH*, Feb. 1, 1889, May 5, 1893; *AI*, Nov. 21, 1879, Dec. 24, 1880, Aug. 5, 12, 1881.

[22] *JM*, Mar. 18, 1898; *AI*, Apr. 6, 1888 (I. Moses); *AH*, Mar. 5, 1880.

[23] *AI*, Jan. 30, Feb. 6, Nov. 5, 1880, Feb. 23, 1883, Dec. 10, 1896.

characteristics, he insisted in a lengthy essay, that accounted for Jewish traditions and the so-called "Jewish traits."[24]

But even those who refused to admit the importance of racist teachings absorbed some of that thinking. The *Jewish Messenger*, for example, took great pride and comfort in the words and deeds of two foremost protagonists of racism — Benjamin Disraeli and George Eliot. The baptized Englishman became a hero to the traditionalist New York weekly. Although in 1868 the paper had said that Disraeli could not be claimed by the Jews, after 1870 he was frequently hailed as the man who remembered and fought for his people, a modern Mordecai. The paper also sang the praises of the British writer for her novel *Daniel Deronda* and her essay "The Modern Hep! Hep!" "When some of our co-religionists murmur against the burdens of the Law, unmindful of its blessings, let George Eliot's words be treasured... Let our people recognize that the national idea is the true rallying-cry of our race now and for ages to come, until the belief in One God shall permeate mankind." When the *Jewish Messenger* took perverse satisfaction in the fact that persecution showed Berlin Jews that assimilation plus social and financial position could not free them from Judaism, it too was accepting the premises of racism.[25]

The *Jewish Messenger*'s seeming illogic stemmed from the quandary in which most American Jews outside the classical Reform camp found themselves in the nineteenth century. How were they to define Judaism and Jews? Was Judaism merely a faith, or were Jews a people, a race, or members of a nationality? The terms were often confused or carelessly interchanged. In most cases when rabbis or editors preached about their heritage or responsibilities

[24] Felsenthal in *JM*, Mar. 30, 1883; Jastrow, *Causes*, pp. 8-9; Adler, *Revival*, p. 1; *NYT*, May 29, 1893; Morris Jastrow, Jr., "The Jewish Question in its Recent Aspects," *International Journal of Ethics*, VI (July 1896), 457–79.

[25] *JM*, Mar. 6, 1868, Sept. 8, 1876, Mar. 23, 1877, Mar. 22, 1878, June 13, 1879, Jan. 21, 1881, Aug. 15, 1884. In June 1879 the paper reprinted Eliot's "The Modern Hep! Hep!" The famous story of Disraeli's comments on the superiority of his Jewish ancestors was echoed in the United States in a similar anecdote about Judah Benjamin. *Ibid.*, May 25, 1877.

of the Jews, it made little difference whether those being preached to were a people, race, or a nationality. But the issue became sticky for a self-conscious minority when questions arose of group political behavior or of rootedness in the body politic.[26]

To what extent if any European Jews were to blame for their predicament was rarely considered. The *American Israelite* noted the part that Jews played in the economic scandals in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War, while the *Jewish Messenger* in 1881 agreed with England's Rothschild that anti-Semitism would not have been as bad in Germany had the German Jews worked to improve the conditions of their poorer brethren. Rabbi Leon Straus of Eufaula, Alabama, said in a sermon that God brought about the persecutions in Europe so that the Jews, who had worshiped idols of gold and silver, could return to Him and find safety. Others agreed that the drift away from religion had hurt their European brethren, and indeed, for a while at least, it did appear as if the more observant Jews were suffering less. But American Jews did not usually presume to judge their European brethren. Look to the vices of the persecutors, the *American Hebrew* advised, and not to those of their victims.[27]

American Jews could not derive much support from the explanations offered by Christian Americans for European anti-Semitism, for the non-Jews tended to discount religious enmity in favor of the race issue. Not only did Christian commentators say that anti-Semites were driven by racist teachings, but they themselves accepted the concept of the racial distinctiveness of the Jews. The *Nation* stated: "There is some leaven of truth in the talk about the contest of Germanism and Jewism — namely, the difference in the national or race character of Jews and Germans, a difference... whose existence is one of the most important factors

[26] I treat the issue with respect to the pre-Civil War community in a forthcoming article, "Pioneers of American Jewish Defense," to appear in the *American Jewish Archives*.

[27] *AI*, Aug. 27, 1880, Aug. 17, 1883; *AH*, Sept. 21, 1883, Aug. 22, 1884, Oct. 11, 1889, Dec. 20, 1895; *JM*, June 27, 1879, Jan. 21 (Jastrow), 28, 1881, Nov. 30, 1883.

in history." A Boston clergyman countered the stock anti-Semitic charges by citing the impact of persecution on the Jew, but on the theme of vulgarity he too reverted to racism: "The Jews are an Oriental people, and they are not to be judged by the standards of English and American taste.... [P]icturesque display on their persons... is a race characteristic." Defenders of the Jews like Mayor Abram Hewitt of New York and writers in the *New York Herald*, the *Tribune*, and the *Times* talked about the superior racial traits of the Jews and the fear that Jewish superiority evoked.[28] By sharing a racist platform with anti-Semites, defenders of the Jews were, in reality, contributing to the goals of the anti-Semites. Once the premise was accepted, for example, that Jews had peculiar economic abilities which enabled them to establish control of money markets or of the press, it would be easier to believe, particularly in times of crisis, that Jewish activities spawned malevolent, in addition to, or rather than, beneficent results.[29]

American Jews refrained from joining the chorus on their superior abilities. They preferred to see modern anti-Semitism as merely another link in the chain of persecution long endured. If every generation had its Haman or its Hep! Hep! movement, this too would pass. Perhaps a measure of comfort could also be derived from the attendant belief that anti-Semitism would leave the persecuting host country sadly weakened for its efforts.[30] On

[28] *Nation*, Jan. 29, June 24, 1880; reprints of articles from *New York Herald*, *Boston Transcript*, *NYT*, and *New York Tribune* in *JM*, Dec. 3, 1880, July 21, 1882, June 30, 1893, Jan. 28, 1898; *JM*, May 5, 1882 (M. Savage), Oct. 9, 1891; *AH*, Dec. 13, 1895; Hosmer, *Story of the Jews*, p. 357.

[29] A case in point arose in Charles Eliot's address before the Unitarian Club of Boston. The president of Harvard said: "Neither had I any conception before of the triumphal march of Judaism over the world. For it is a triumphal march.... The Jews are seizing upon all the best things in all the countries of Europe and Africa.... It is a wonderful example of the combined force of race and religion." *JM*, Oct. 28, 1887. Although Eliot was sympathetic toward Jews (Solomon, *Ancestors and Immigrants*, p. 173), the same words could easily have been mouthed by an anti-Semite.

[30] Vidaver, *Anti-Semitism*, pp. 6, 13; Sulzberger in *Penn Monthly*, XII, 100; Hanaw, *Jew Hating*, p. 4; *JM*, July 22, 1887, Mar. 27, 1891; *AI*, June

the other hand, to admit to peculiarly Jewish traits, whether the products of race or of history, and whether admirable or abhorrent, precluded the hope of ever achieving real equality in the western world. Not all commentators were as gloomy as Mark Twain, who saw no speedy end to Jewish persecution which rested on race prejudice. ("You will always be... strangers — foreigners — wherever you are," he wrote to the Jews, "and that will probably keep the race prejudice against you alive.")[31] But even the modified racists, or those who claimed that Jewish traits would eventually disappear, implied that Jews would first have to assimilate completely, at least socially and culturally, if not religiously.[32]

Thus, modern anti Semitism put western Jews in a bind. Total assimilation was distasteful or downright painful, but to be different was a stigma. One could argue, as Rabbi Jastrow did, that considerations of inferiority and superiority were irrelevant, that Jews "stand before the world... as men endowed with inalienable rights."[33] But the universalist premises of the Enlightenment were out of fashion in a century that glorified man for being a member of a particular national family. The other possibility was to latch on to pluralism and prove the value to democratic society if minority groups were to retain their identity. But that was a twentieth century concept as yet unborn.

III

For many years the American Jewish press punctuated reports of German, Austrian, and French anti-Semitism with the comments that the movement could not last or was in its final stages.[34] Despite that wishful thinking American Jews had to admit to the

4. 1880 (Vidaver), Jan. 21, 1881; *AH*, Jan. 9, Dec. 3, 1880 (F. de Sola Mendes), Jan. 7, 1881, Feb. 28, 1890.

[31] "Concerning the Jews," *Harper's Magazine*, XCIX (September 1899), 535.

[32] See for example *Nation*, June 24, 1880; *JM*, July 21, 1882 (*Boston Transcript*), Apr. 11, 1890 (C. H. Toy); *Prejudice Against the Jew*, *passim*.

[33] *JM*, Jan. 21, 1881 (Jastrow), Nov. 3, 1899 (H. Morais).

[34] *JM*, Jan. 30, 1880, Feb. 18, 1887; *AI*, Feb. 4, 1881, Mar. 23, 1888; *AH*, June 3, 1892, June 15, 1894 (J. Silverman).

seriousness of the agitation. As Rabbi Maurice Harris pointed out: "Jewish persecution has been raised to the dignity of a philosophy, with a philosophic name to hide its malice. It is made the platform and creed of political parties; it is a new element to be dealt with in the State; it is prosecuted with the precision and the thoroughness of a science. It has its literature, its press, its propaganda."[35] While American Jews could ridicule certain leaders of the movement for their records as convicted criminals, they could not dismiss anti-Semitism merely as the work of the lunatic fringe when it included respectable names like Heinrich von Treitschke and Goldwin Smith.[36]

Any concerted plan of action, however, could not be launched. Although there was a defense committee, the Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights (the Board of Delegates of American Israelites was renamed when taken over by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations), it could not claim to represent a united community. When in 1880 that body admonished American Jews not to bypass the Board and approach government officials directly "whenever a newspaper records what seems to be an attack upon the Jews of any country", it meant that not all Jews accepted the Board's leadership.[37] The voice of American Jewry was really a set of multiple voices made up of communal agencies, of competing periodicals, and of prominent rabbis. Rarely did they blend into a harmonious chorus.

More important, however, the Board of Delegates abdicated whatever influence it might have had in directing the American Jewish response. In 1881 — at a time when German anti-Semites were petitioning their government to rescind Jewish rights — it resolved to take no action on the German situation despite requests to convene protest meetings and to ask for help from the American

[35] *AH*, Nov. 25, 1898.

[36] *Ibid.*, Apr. 3, 1885, June 26, 1896; *JM*, Apr. 1, 1892, Aug. 24, 1894. The *Nation* (June 24, 1880) explained that it mentioned Treitschke more than once since he was "the most respectable of the enemies of the Jews."

[37] Union of American Hebrew Congregations, *Proceedings*, II (1880), 900–1; *AH*, July 23, 1880.

government. The Board said: "This course was at once the conviction of the Board, and was desired by the leading Israelites of Germany. They were fully competent to maintain their position, having confidence in the essential justice of their cause and the returning reason of the German people."[38] This statement, an ominous harbinger of what would be parroted fifty years later, reveals that American Jews were clearly inhibited about acting in defense of *western* Jews. It stands in sharp contrast to the work of the Board and of numerous ad hoc committees concerned at the same time with the rights and plight of Rumanian and Russian Jews.

True, American Jews had been warned off by their brethren in Germany. When Rabbi Lilienthal wrote leading Jews in Europe asking what the Americans could do to help, the answer was an emphatic "nothing" on the grounds that American intervention would only aggravate the situation. German Jews also told the Alliance Israélite Universelle to keep its hands off. A cable dispatch from Berlin in January, 1881 reported that news of public agitation in the United States on the anti-Semitic question produced a wave of anti-American sentiment.[39] No doubt the German Jews feared that national resentment over foreign intervention would be directed into the anti-Jewish crusade.

Most American Jews heeded the counsel from Germany and refrained from protest meetings or petitions to the government. When a B'nai B'rith member suggested that the order take up the German question in light of the Board's inactivity, his resolution was tabled. Even the action of the Texas legislature, instructing the state's delegates in Congress to work for some official statement against the *Judenhetze*, did not encourage the Jewish leaders to change their minds.[40]

The American Jewish decision to take no action dovetailed with the government's policy. Minister Andrew D. White in Berlin was requested to give an account of the German-Jewish situation, and

[38] Union of American Hebrew Congregations, *Proceedings*, II (1881), 1079.

[39] *AI*, Jan. 7, 28, 1881; *American Correspondence*, Jan. 8, 1881.

[40] *AH*, Feb. 4, 1881; *AI*, Nov. 21, 1879, Mar. 4, 18, Aug. 5, 1881.

unofficial reports revealed that he was instructed to do what he could for the German Jews on an *informal* basis. Hayes' administration was apparently prodded by American public opinion and by the problem posed by naturalized American Jews residing in Germany who might be affected by the anti-Semitic agitation. But reluctant to touch off an international incident or a discussion in Congress which could perhaps bring out American anti-Semitic opinions, the Executive side-stepped any public action.[41]

For a short while the *American Hebrew* thought differently. The United States was in no position to intervene directly, the paper agreed, but: "It is, however, eminently just that these United States of America manifest their representative character as the beacons of tolerance and equality, by a manly expression of indignation at such bigoted sentiments as seem to imbue so much of German thought." The non-Jewish *American Correspondence* concurred in those sentiments, indicating thereby that the American Jewish penchant to help foreign Jews by appealing for humanitarian diplomacy, or America's right to intercede when basic human freedoms were violated in foreign lands, was shared by other Americans. Indeed, humanitarian diplomacy was invoked by non-Jews during these very same years with respect to the Jewish plight in Russia.[42]

But, American Jews adjudged the German situation to be different, and perhaps because of their decision the President and the Secretary of State saw no need to reconsider their course of action. Congress became involved only peripherally. In 1884, shortly after the death in New York of Eduard Lasker, Jewish member of the Reichstag, the House of Representatives relayed resolutions of sympathy to the German government which Bismarck refused to accept. Some members of the House reacted quite indignantly, and one, S. S. Cox of New York, linked the

[41] *American Correspondence*, Dec. 11, 1880; Cyrus Adler and Aaron M. Margalith, *With Firmness in the Right* (New York, 1946), pp. 354–62.

[42] *AH*, Dec. 17, 1880; *American Correspondence*, Jan. 8, 1881; *JM*, Feb. 27, July 17, 1891; Adler and Margalith, *Firmness*, pp. 177–8, 189–90, 209–10, 218, 221, 233–4.

Chancellor's discourtesy directly to Germany's anti-Semitism. Cox lauded the Jewish "race" and asked that Congress by no gesture become a partner to German prejudice. Nevertheless, since Bismarck had already explained to the Reichstag that he had meant no disrespect to Congress, the matter was not pursued further.[43]

Government action in the form of the appointments of Oscar S. Straus and Max Judd to the diplomatic service gave American Jews some satisfaction. When President Cleveland was considering Straus for the ministerial post in Constantinople, a few Christian clergymen who urged the appointment stated that it would show European countries what the United States thought of its Jews. Since Straus' nomination revived memories of how in 1885 the Austrian government had refused to receive the American minister, Anthony Keiley, for the alleged reason that his wife was Jewish, Jews also hoped that America's determination to defend religious differences would not be lost on the western world. In 1893 Max Judd was named consul-general to Vienna, and Austrian Jew-baiters voiced their opposition. The *New York Times* commented that the government should pay no attention unless Austria raised the matter directly. The paper advised Judd not to resign, for thereby he would be facilitating the persecution of the Jews in Austria.[44]

While American Jews tacitly accepted inaction on the part of their government, they did expect a sympathetic response from the Christian press and clergy and from the nation's secular press. They did not argue in terms of American self-interest. It was enough that anti-Semitism constituted a blow to humanity, and to civilization and progress generally. Persecution of the Jews as members of a group, like persecution of the Christian missionaries in non-Christian lands, demanded unequivocal denunciation.[45]

[43] *Congressional Record*, 48 Cong. 1 Sess., pp. 1766, 2073–83.

[44] Oscar S. Straus, *Under Four Administrations* (Boston, 1922), pp. 46–7; State Dept. Archives / Appointments and Recommendations: O. B. Potter to Grover Cleveland, [Jan. 1887]; *JM*, Apr. 1, 1887, Apr. 7, 1893; *NYT*, Apr. 4, 1893; *AI*, Apr. 13, 1893.

[45] *JM*, Dec. 17, 31, 1880, Sept. 2, 1892; *AH*, Jan. 30, 1880, Jan. 28, 1881;

When the *Nation* described the German Jewish situation of 1880 in a matter-of-fact manner the *Jewish Messenger* was outraged. It charged that the *Nation*'s tone was "almost as passionless as if the subject had been potatoes." The religious weeklies were even worse, the *Messenger* asserted. Inclined to dwell on the charges against the Jews and to dismiss the Jewish defense, they "discussed the situation with an air as though 500,000 cattle [rather than people] were concerned." The *American Hebrew* was more outraged when the *Independent* (a Congregationalist periodical) described the anti-Semitic agitation in western Europe and concluded that it could not state to what extent the persecution was justified. Would the writer of that article consider the possibility that the Inquisition too had been justified, the *American Hebrew* asked indignantly.[46]

American Jews were grateful to ministers who preached against German anti-Semitism. Apparently someone did approach New York's clergy, and on the last Sunday in December of 1880 two preachers, Henry Ward Beecher and Robert Collyer, discussed the conditions in Germany. Collyer praised the Jews, likened the German anti-Semitic party to the Know-Nothings of the United States, and pointed out how anti-Semitism directly betrayed the liberal spirit of Germany's heritage. Beecher called for a remonstrance by the United States, since the country owed so much to its Jews, and he too expected better of Germany. "No nation," he said with nineteenth century confidence, "can commit with impunity the crime which will be charged to the Germans if they continue to persecute the Jews."[47]

M. Sulzberger in *Penn Monthly*, XII, 100; Joseph Silverman, "Popular Errors About the Jews," *Judaism at the World's Parliament of Religions* (Cincinnati, 1894), p. 291. Analogies between the sufferings of the Jews and the missionaries in the Far East were made by the *JM*, Aug. 3, 1888, Sept. 23, 1892, Aug. 17, 1894 and the *AH*, Aug. 27, 1900. Rabbi Sabato Morais differed from his colleagues by stating publicly that he wanted no help from Christian ministers. Their responses sounded patronizing, he said. *AH*, Jan. 21, 28, Feb. 4, 1881.

[46] *JM*, Mar. 12, July 12, 1880; *AH*, Aug. 31, 1888.

[47] *JM*, Jan. 21, 1881 (Jastrow); *NYT*, Dec. 27, 1880.

Ever a minority, American Jews always needed allies when arguing the case of their foreign brethren — the government, the press, public opinion molders. Their own efforts and behavior, however, were equally important. As they wrestled with the problem of what they as Jews could do to combat the new anti-Semitism, it was clear that they allied themselves more directly with the victims of persecution not only as Americans watching the plight of Europeans but as Jews concerned with their own personal security. Some of their considerations would be faced by future defense agencies — e.g. should the anti-Jewish prejudice of western Europe be publicized or did publicity only spread the propaganda more pervasively.[48] On that score, incidentally, they again distinguished between eastern and western Jewry; in the case of the former, American Jewish spokesmen never held back the horrors of czarist rule.

Most answers on how Jews should meet anti-Semitism fell into two categories, but there was no clear-cut division on who chose which approach. Indeed, the same individuals often advocated both. More important, the answers applied to the American as well as to the western European Jews, thereby linking the two in a common endeavor.

One answer was the message of faith: just as Jewish fortitude and inner strength defeated the Hamans throughout the ages, so would a people, faithful to its religion and tradition, have the necessary courage to live down its present enemies. Our opponents look for open sores to feed on, Rabbi Jastrow warned, and Jews must show no signs of inner faltering.[49] No doubt the injunction to keep the faith aimed to shore up Jewish morale as well as to counter the charge raised in Germany that *secularist* Jews were responsible for undermining Christianity.

The second most popular answer was that of reason. Educate the non-Jew and teach him what Judaism really means; tell the

[48] See for example *JM*, Sept. 7, 1888, Dec. 16, 1892; *AI*, July 31, 1890.

[49] Jastrow, *Causes*, p. 13 f.; *JM*, Nov. 3, 1882, Mar. 30. 1883 (B. Felsenthal); *AI*, Vidaver in Jan. 11, 1878 and June 4, 1880; *AH*, Jan. 7, 1881, Nov. 25, 1898 (M. Harris).

world that the anti-Semitic charges against Talmudic teachings were false, that the blood libel charge had been refuted, and that the historical ancestor of Shylock was a Christian rather than a Jew; circulate and publicize the recent rebuttals of prominent men to the hate-mongering campaign. (Along these lines the *American Hebrew*'s symposium on prejudice, presenting Christian opinions on the nature and remedies for anti-Semitism, was reprinted in Germany as an "antidote" to the anti-Jewish agitation.)[50] This approach, which characterized Jewish defense well into the twentieth century, revealed how loyal emancipated Jews were to the Enlightenment heritage.

What the Jews then would have considered part of education but what we would call apologetics also found its way into defense. Speakers, writers, and editors, both Jewish and non-Jewish, did not tire of recounting the contributions of Jews to western European civilization and the prominent positions they held in all fields. In answer to anti-Semites, apologists also explained why Jews were not to be found in large numbers in the so-called productive industries but that they were fast attempting to remedy that deficiency. Since most Jews tried consciously to avoid the trap of distinctive or racial characteristics, it was left primarily to Christian defenders to recite the litany of Jewish virtues.[51] Indeed,

[50] Hanaw, *Jew Hating*, p. 9; Vidaver, *Anti-Semitism*, p. 13; *JM*, June 27, 1879, Jan. 9, Mar. 26, 1880 (G. Gottheil), Jan. 24, 1890, Mar. 17, 1899; *AI*, Nov. 21, 1879, Jan. 16, 1880, Sept. 15, 1882, June 15, 1883, Apr. 13, 20, 1893 (Krauskopf); *AH*, July 16, 1880, Mar. 16, Nov. 9, 1894, Nov. 24, 1899; K. Kohler, "The Ethics of the Talmud," *AH*, Nov. 1893 — Apr. 1894. The Anglo-Jewish press for this period is studded with opinions of prominent Christians in defense of the Jews. In the case of Naquet's speech before the Chamber of Deputies and Leroy-Beaulieu's speech at the Catholic Institute at Paris, the newspapers had translations made for their readers. See, for example, *AH*, Mar. 20, 27, 1896, June 25 – Aug. 20, 1897.

[51] For Christian defenders see especially Madison C. Peters, *Justice to the Jew* (London, 1897); see also comments printed in *JM* by T. Van Ness (Dec. 23, 1887), M. Savage (May 5, 1882), C. Toy (Apr. 11, 1890) *Boston Transcript* (July 21, 1882), *New York Sun* (Nov. 30, 1883); in *AI* see for example *Ogden City Press* (Dec. 12, 1879), *Philadelphia Public Ledger* (Dec. 10, 1880), *Boston Sunday Herald* (Jan. 14, 1881); in *AH* see for example *New York Star* (Apr.

some Jews even advised that anti-Semitic charges be examined for their validity. Where they were in fact true, they said, Jews should work at improving their behavior.[52]

Direct action or physical resistance, of course, was anathema to American Jewish leaders, for it challenged the infallibility of reason. On one occasion, however, the *Jewish Messenger* strayed from the norm. After riots in Pressburg caused Jews there to flee to Vienna, the paper advocated fighting, even "exchanging shot," in place of timidity. "One determined volley of musketry in the face of the mob would silence the anti-Semitic agitation *at once*, while constant and piteous appeals or cowardly flight only protract the agony and lower the dignity of the Hebrew name."[53] As the disturbances surrounding Ahlwardt showed, and if the charges of Timayenis that Jews boycotted his book and threatened him physically are to be believed, the rank and file were not always amenable to the counsel of the pulpit or press. One resourceful New Yorker, a stockbroker by profession, even published an ad in the papers which read: "Wanted — Enlightened men, who deprecate the attempt to raise prejudice by Ahlwardt, to welcome the fanatic with ancient eggs."[54] But, more in keeping with Jewish sensibilities the *Jewish Messenger* criticized a poem written after the pardon of Dreyfus that advised Jews to "make war on the Gaul" and avenge their humiliation. The paper piously commented: "[T]he law of revenge finds no place in the Jewish code or heart," and it cautioned its readers not to harbor any prejudices against non-Jews. The leaders of the community, speaking through the press,

9, 1884), Anna L. Dawes, "The Modern Jew" (Apr. 9, 1884), E. Donchoo (Sept. 20, 1895). For examples of Jewish defense and apologetics see Simon Wolf, "The Influence of the Jews on the Progress of the World," in *Select Addresses and Papers*; "The Progress of the Jew," *AH*, May 22, 1891; *AH*, May 27, 1881, Oct. 26, 1883, June 26, 1896; *AI*, Dec. 16, 30, 1881, June 8, 1888, Sept. 10, 24, 1894 (D. Philipson); *JM*, Sept. 20, 1878, Feb. 6, 1880, Feb. 10, 1893, Nov. 3, 1899 (H. Morais).

52 See for example *JM*, Jan. 21, 1881 (Jastrow), Mar. 27, 1891, Mar. 11, 1898.

53 *JM*, Oct. 6, 1882.

54 *NYT*, Sept. 4, 1888, Dec. 9, 13, 1895, Apr. 7, 8, 1896; *AI*, Apr. 16, 1896.

still maintained that the Jew had to be more virtuous than the non-Jew.[55]

IV

Of all the anti-Semitic charges the one which bothered American Jewry most accused the Jew of lack of patriotism. It was not a novel indictment; suspicions about the loyalty of the Hebrew were voiced in the Books of Exodus and Esther. The accusation was never laid to rest,[56] and in the last quarter of the nineteenth century it assumed significance in the diatribes of the rabble-rousing anti-Semites and in the writings of a "respectable" anti-Semite, Goldwin Smith. Smith, a wealthy expatriate Englishman who had served as professor of modern history at Oxford, was called to Cornell's faculty in 1868. He retained an honorary professorship and returned to lecture periodically in Ithaca after making his home in Canada. His anti-Semitism was sparked by a bitter feud with Disraeli, and in articles which appeared in English and American journals he vented his hatred of Disraeli's "tribe". He attacked the Jews for their racial exclusiveness and faulted the teachings of the Old Testament and Talmud which, he argued, prevented them from becoming patriots of the countries in which they lived. Jews were a "parasitic race" absorbing the wealth of different lands while they devoured "the core of nationality." Just because they were economically powerful and socially successful, they were particularly menacing to the modern state. In a conversation with Felix Adler, Smith reportedly added that in time of crisis Jewish "clan feeling" would transcend patrotism. As long as any trace of "their marked and repellent nationality" remained, they formed a nation within a nation and could not be true Englishmen or Germans.[57]

[55] *JM*, Apr. 11, 1890, Sept. 22, 1899; *AI*, Dec. 19, 1879, Mar. 30, 1888; *AH*, Nov. 15, 1895.

[56] Cf. Salo W. Baron, "Changing Patterns of Antisemitism," *Jewish Social Studies*, XXXVIII (Winter 1976), pp. 5, 28 ff.

[57] Colin Holmes, "Goldwin Smith, A 'Liberal' Antisemite," *Patterns of Prejudice*, VI (1972), 25 30; Smith, "New Light on the Jewish Question"; Adler, *Revival*, p. 9.

Coming as they did from a renowned intellectual, Smith's accusations were especially serious. The *New York Times* criticized the English professor — after all, if Jews were intruders in modern society, so was he an intruder in the United States — and voiced its sympathy for his victims: "It was bad enough to have been persecuted by Kings and abused by German statesmen, but to be pronounced unfit to live, and to have their venerable scriptures danced upon by Mr. Smith, must be the last drop in their cup of humiliation."[58]

Smith's charges, like those of Edward Freeman, also a British professor of history who taught for a while at Cornell, evoked heated rejoinders on both sides of the Atlantic. Smith's leading opponent in England was Chief Rabbi Hermann Adler, whose answers were reprinted in the United States. One article, "Can Jews Be Patriots?" circulated here in pamphlet form. A second pamphlet with that same title was written by Isaac Schwab, an American Orthodox rabbi who was trained in Germany. Adler, Schwab, and other American Jews defended their ancient writings and usually brought historical examples to prove Jewish loyalty throughout the ages. The Jewish press studiously reported instances of Jewish service in the armed forces of different lands, of Jews praised by heads of state for their loyalty, and of individual Jews singled out for national honors.[59]

No doubt Jews were particularly sensitive to Smith because the optimal solution he advanced for resolving the Jewish question was that Jews lose their identity as Jews. Since identity according to Smith included religion as well as ethnicity, Reform spokesmen

[58] *NYT*, Oct. 20, 1881.

[59] Hermann Adler, *Can Jews be Patriots?* (London, 1878); *idem*, "Russian Barbarities and Their Apologist," *North American Review*, CLIII (November 1891); Isaac Schwab, *Can Jews Be Patriots?* (New York, 1878); Isaac Besht Bendavid "Goldwin Smith and the Jews," *North American Review*, CLIII (September 1891); *JM*, Oct. 20, 1876, Mar. 15, 22, Nov. 29, Dec. 20, 1878, Jan. 1, 1886, Apr. 30, June 25, 1897; *AI*, Sept. 26, 1879, Mar. 18, 1881, Aug. 20, 1891 (*Chicago Israelite*); *AH*, Feb. 27 (S. Morais), July 2, 1880, Oct. 28, 1881, Apr. 18, 1884 (C. Sulzberger).

closed ranks with traditionalists in denouncing him. A frivolous response to his ideas appeared in a poem printed in the *American Israelite*:

To solve the Jewish question,
And make the Hebrew pause:
Smith offers the suggestion,
"Suppress his Book of Laws;
"If still his fixed division
"From Gentiles he maintains,
"Abolish circumcision:
" 'Twill minimize his brains.
"And if this plan's miscarriage
"Stops not his nation's life,
"Enforce his intermarriage
"With a non-Hebraic wife!"
All points this drastic treament clears,
'Tis simple, thorough, new:
The Jewish question disappears,
And so, too, does the Jew![60]

But although Smith's solution was extreme, qualitatively it was not different from what many American Christians and even Jews were saying — Jews could not achieve real equality unless they broke down the barriers which they had erected separating themselves from the Gentiles. The spectrum of opinion on that issue within the community of acculturated Jews was broad. On one extreme were the assimilationists and on the other the few who said with the poetess Emma Lazarus, "Our national defect is that we are not tribal enough." Between the extremes there were many voices. One was E. W. Moise of the old South Carolina family who advocated more "liberal thought" on intermarriage. Another was Rabbi Jastrow who once snorted, "I... was never a believer in a friendship built on bacon and cemented with lard." Professor Charles Gross, a Jew who taught history at Harvard answered

[60] K. Kohler in *JM*, Jan. 3, 1896; *AI*, Oct. 28, 1881.

Smith with the argument that Jewish exclusiveness was a product of persecution. In countries like the United States where Jews were free, he said, Jewish tribalism and lack of patriotism were fast disappearing.[61]

But on the issue of loyalty American Jews wanted more than lukewarm rejoinders. They too had been mentioned by Smith, who had written as proof of Jewish inconstancy: "When the Southern Confederacy fell, its leaders generally stood by the wreck... but Judah Benjamin went off to pastures new." What made this charge more worrisome was that it had antecedents in the United States dating back to Ezra Stiles' suspicions of Jewish behavior on the eve of the Revolution and coming to a head during the Civil War when Jews on both sides were accused of disloyalty. Underlying the theme of disloyalty was the image of the alien Jew, an image which lived on even in time of peace. When the *American Hebrew* asked in 1896, "Is a Jew always a foreigner and an intruder, however many generations back his ancestors may have dwelt in the land," it revealed how pervasive that image must have been.[62]

In response to this current of European anti-Semitic propaganda popularized by Smith and others which indicted all Jews, and alert to the possible reinforcement of the stock charges in the United States with the arrival of so many alien, un-westernized Russian Jews, American Jewish leaders sought ways to prove their patrotism and American roots. Oscar Straus, for example, arranged for European historian Meyer Kayserling to write the history of the discovery of the New World and prove how Jews were involved with America from earliest times. Simon Wolf published

[61] *Prejudice Against the Jew*, *passim*; H. Morais in *JM*, Nov. 3, 1899; H. Szold in *AH*, May 5, 1899; E. W. Moise in *JM*, Oct. 5, 1900; Jastrow, *Causes*, p. 10; Charles Gross, "Causes of Russia's Persecution of the Jews," *Leslie's Weekly*, Aug. 29. 1891.

[62] Smith, "New Light on the Jewish Question," p. 141; Richard B. Morris, "Civil Liberties and the Jewish Tradition in Early America," in Abraham Karp, ed., *The Jewish Experience in America* (5 vols. Waltham and New York, 1969), I, 421–2; Bertram W. Korn, *American Jewry and the Civil War* (Philadelphia, 1951), ch. 7; *AH*, Oct. 2, 1896.

The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen in 1895 to refute charges raised in the wake of Smith's writings accusing Jews of not fighting in the Civil War. Jewish speakers and editors joined in praising American Jews for their contributions in every armed conflict from the Revolution to the Spanish American war. (In characteristic fashion Rabbi Calisch of Richmond, Virginia, wrote a piece for the Souvenir Book of a Confederate reunion in which he asserted that the "indomitable Maccabaean spirit" was reborn in the courage and heroism of the Jewish Confederate soldiers.)

The establishment of the American Jewish Historical Society in 1892 also derived in part from the impact of European propaganda and the desire to prove how inextricably bound up the Jews had always been in the founding and development of the United States. The genre of papers published by that organization, especially in its early years, similarly attested to the defensive posture of a worried community.[63]

The Dreyfus Affair caused American Jews to intensify these efforts. The French captain's first trial in December, 1894 and his public disgrace in January, 1895 left them chagrined and on the defensive, for what better proof did Goldwin Smith and his ilk need. Max J. Kohler tried to protect the group's reputation in a series of articles which appeared in the *American Hebrew* entitled "Incidents Illustrative of American Jewish Patriotism," but not until Zola's exposé of the case did Jews regain a measure of reassurance. When Dreyfus was tried and found guilty a second time, they raised a public outcry replete with protest meetings and talk of appealing to President McKinley to intercede with France. By their reaction to the different chapters in the affair, American

[63] Naomi W. Cohen, *A Dual Heritage* (Philadelphia, 1969) pp. 71–3; *North American Review*, CLIII (December 1891), 761–2; CLIV (February 1892), 249–51; *JM*, Dec. 11, 1891, July 3, 1896 (Calisch), July 1, 1898; *AH*, Feb. 9, 1894 (M. Kohler), Jan. 31 (Baar), Apr. 3, 1896, Feb. 23, June 22, 1900; *AI*, Dec. 17, 1891, Jan. 7, 1892; John J. Appel, "Hansen's Third-Generation 'Law' and the Origins of the American Jewish Historical Society," *Jewish Social Studies*, XXIII (January 1961), 8–11; Harold J. Jonas, "Writing American Jewish History," *Contemporary Jewish Record*, VI (April 1943), 142–8.

Jews indicated that they too were under fire and that they were no longer so sure that an American address guaranteed them immunity from anti-Semitism. Perhaps, too, their eager support of America's war with Spain in 1898 was prompted by their desire to banish any suspicion of disloyalty which the Dreyfus Affair might have cast on them.[64]

Anti-Semitism contributed as well to a new spirit of heightened Americanism manifested by American Jews. Their foremost priority in dealing with the new east-European immigrants was rapid Americanization, and established Jew minced no words in chiding their brethren on how to behave — to avoid ghettoization and exclusiveness, to spurn the nefarious doctrines of socialism and anarchism, to obey American laws. Their thrust was for comformity, and, perhaps with the charge of clannishness still resounding, Jewish leaders expressed their distaste for separate Jewish political clubs, labor unions, veterans' organizations, and National Guard regiments.[65] One also senses a greater readiness among Jews at the turn of the century to refrain from any sharp criticism of the government and to overlook or to criticize in milder terms what would have been challenged thirty years before — e.g. sectarian teachings in the public schools, the rigors of the Sunday laws.[66] Sensitivity to the anti-Semitic reverberations from Europe reinforced the nineteenth century American Jewish preference for a low profile and increased Jewish reluctance to admit to, or at least to air publicly, any conditions of inequality.

V

Modern anti-Semitism shaped the development of Herzlian Zionism but it also reinforced American Jewish opposition to the nationalist

[64] Ronald A. Urquhart, *The American Reaction to The Dreyfus Affair* (Unpublished dissertation. Columbia University, 1972), pp. 195 200; M. J. Kohler in *AH*, Dec. 1894–Jan. 1895.

[65] *JM*, Apr. 22, Aug. 5, Dec. 2, 1887, Jan. 12, Aug. 10, 1894, Apr. 3, 1896, Feb. 4, 1898, Dec. 21, 1900; *AH*, Oct. 1, 1886, Nov. 17, 1893 (H. P. Mendes), Oct. 25, 1894 (*Jewish World*), Nov. 1, 1895, July 10, 1896; *AI*, Aug. 2, 1894, Sept. 17, 1896.

[66] *JM*, Feb. 22, Mar. 1, June 7, Dec. 13, 1901; *AH*, Mar. 2, 1900.

idea. It seemed eminently logical to the anti-Zionists, especially to the Reform leaders of the English-speaking community, that Zionism only validated the charges that Jews could not be patriots in the western nations, that they were in fact a Semitic race seeking restoration to their Asiatic homeland. Even before Herzl launched the political Zionist movement, opponents of Jewish nationalism argued that the idea of a return to Palestine played directly into the hands of the anti-Semites.[67] The competitors of the Jews would favor such a move, and so would those nations hoping to divert the stream of Russian Jewish immigrants from their own shores. Behind them lurked the anti-Semites who charged Jews with dual loyalties or who, like Goldwin Smith, saw removal to Palestine as a possible solution to the Jewish question.[68]

The Blackstone memorial of 1891, a document signed by many prominent Americans asking the government for its aid on behalf of returning Palestine to the Jews, brought the *New York Sun* to the side of the anti-nationalist Jews. It too interpreted restoration as a device benefitting European and American bigots: "The anti-semitic league of Germany would be glad to see it carried out. Germans would rejoice to get rid of the Jewish competition... in finance, trade, science, art and the letters." The Reform press joined the attack on the memorial and Reform rabbi Solomon Schindler predicted that the same Christians who signed the memorial would order the Jews to leave the United States as soon as there was a Jewish commonwealth. The *Jewish Messenger* called the memorial a counsel of retreat and exhorted Jews all over the world to show less timidity and "more resolute grit" in facing anti-Semitism. "Did Mordecai counsel flight to his brethren? Did Esther, when the dread designs of the anti-Semites were made

[67] Marnin Feinstein, *American Zionism, 1884–1904* (New York, 1965), pp. 13, 19–20. For an analysis of Reform's attitude, see Naomi W. Cohen, "The Reaction of Reform Judaism in America to Political Zionism, 1897–1922," *Publication* of the American Jewish Historical Society, XL (June 1951).

[68] *JM*, Dec. 9, 1864, Feb. 9, 1877, Sept. 5, 1884, June 5, 1891; Feinstein, *Zionism*, p. 19; Holmes, "G. Smith," p. 30.

known to her, bade her co-religionists to play the coward's part?"[69]

The appearance of Herzl's *Judenstaat* and the convening of the world Zionist congresses evoked more heated opposition. The themes that Zionism profited the anti-Semites and cast doubts on the patriotism of western Jews remained constant. Opponents also refused to see any reason for the rise of Zionism other than anti-Semitism. To them Zionism was an irrational response. "If anti-Semitism sets the brain of Herzl on fire," Kaufmann Kohler said, "must we act as madmen too?" Zionism was labeled a policy of defeat and surrender, a backward step or a new type of ghettoization in the evolution of Jews and Judaism, a betrayal of the ideals of liberalism. Herzl and his lieutenants were false messiahs, Nordau the "apostle of pessimism," all madly exaggerating the gravity of anti-Semitism in order to propagate their harmful and cowardly programs.[70]

Insofar as Zionism was the product of anti-Semitism, American anti-Zionists used two lines of argument to prove the needlessness of the new movement. One was to insist that anti-Semitism was fading and that instances of harmony and brotherhood between Jew and Christian were on the increase. This approach drove Max Nordau to challenge the Americans directly in a speech at the 1898 Zionist Congress in which he described the spread of anti-Semitism in the free nations — France, England, and even the United States.[71] Nordau did not convince his opponents about American conditions, but the latter could not gainsay the grim realities of the east-European situation. It may be that the same

[69] Feinstein, *Zionism*, pp. 66, 70, 72–5; *JM*, Mar. 13, 20, 27, 1891.

[70] *JM*, July 24, 1896, Jan. 7, Feb. 4, Mar. 11, 1898, Mar. 17, July 21, Aug. 19, Sept. 8, 1899; *AH*, May 28 (L. Grossman), June 11, 1897; Naomi R. Wiener, *Reform Judaism in America and Zionism, 1897–1922* (Master's essay. Columbia University, 1949), p. 78.

[71] *JM*, July 24, Sept. 4, 1896, Oct. 18, 1897, Feb. 4, 1898, Aug. 18, Sept. 8, Oct. 13, 1899; *Max Nordau to His People* (Introduction by B. Netanyahu. New York, 1941), pp. 85–6. The *AI* lashed out at Richard Gottheil and Stephen Wise, Zionist mavericks in the Reform camp, who attended the Congress, for not having defended America's good name. Wiener, *Reform Judaism and Zionism*, pp. 87, 95–6.

anti-Zionists who were also in the forefront of the fight against the immigration restrictionists after 1891 were motivated in part by the desire to bring the east-Europeans here and thus obviate the need for Zionism and its graver evils.

The other line employed by the anti-Zionists was to insist that anti-Semitism was not all bad. Persecution gave the Jew stamina and vitality, it challenged him to self-improvement, and it taught him a higher faith. These arguments antedated political Zionism but they were repeated more frequently in the 1890's. Indeed, according to the staunch anti-Zionists in the Reform camp, Zionism was potentially more dangerous for the Jew than anti-Semitism itself.[72]

This kind of moralizing made little impact on American Zionists. Stephen S. Wise, a charter member of the Federation of American Zionists, wrote to a colleague in 1899: "How can you possibly say that suffering and injustice should be the true Fatherland of the Jew?" Even if the Zionist movement failed, he added, "it is better than the passive indifference and cowardly lethargy of millions of the world's Jewry today."[73]

However, the counter-arguments of the Zionists on the issue of patriotism did not stand up nearly as well as those of their opponents. The menacing specter of dual loyalties had haunted American Jews since the early nineteenth century. For Zionists merely to deny that they were unpatriotic, or just to say that everyone had multiple loyalties, or even to point to Zionists who had fought in the Spanish-American war, was not enough to wipe out that fear. On the other hand, to claim with pride that Zionism promoted Jewish solidarity was not necessarily what all western Jews would have considered desirable. In 1897, shortly after the first

[72] *JM*, Nov. 28, 1890, Mar. 13, 27, 1891, Aug. 27, 1897, Dec. 13, 1901; *AI*, Sept. 14, 1883 (Goldammer), Oct. 1, 1891; *AH* Dec. 23, 1892 (M. Harris), Sept. 17, Dec. 17, 1897, Apr. 15, Sept. 23, 1898 (K. Kohler); Wiener, *Reform Judaism and Zionism*, pp. 76–7, 86.

[73] Carl H. Voss, ed., *Stephen S. Wise: Servant of the People* (Philadelphia, 1969), pp. 14–15.

Zionist Congress, the Young American Zionists discussed the contetion that Zionism fed the anti-Semitic charges of disloyalty. The consensus of opinion seemed to be that the Jews were patriots in the countries where they enjoyed political rights; they needed a land for the persecuted Jews in which the latter too could enjoy such rights.[74] In effect this admitted that Zionism was compatible with patriotism only when it meant the establishment of an asylum for oppressed Jews. The reasoning dovetailed with the pattern of American Zionism that had been set with the writings of Emma Lazarus: American Jews were not required even to think about any other nationality or homeland except the American one. All Zionism asked of them was to work for a haven for the less fortunate Jews.

Since tradition was on their side, anti-Zionists of the acculturated community successfully used the fear of anti-Semitism as one of their weapons to win both Jews and Christians away from the Jewish nationalist ideal.[75] Not until the days of World War I — with Louis Brandeis and the Balfour Declaration — did American Zionism become a respectable movement.

VI

In an article written in 1901 surveying the events of the previous hundred years, Dr. Aaron Hahn of Cleveland posed a rhetorical question: Who in the early 1800's would have thought anti-Semitism a likely development of the last years of the century? Most acculturated American Jews would have agreed with that sentiment, but in light of their knowledge of and reaction to European anti-Semitism in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, they probably would not have accepted Hahn's conclusion that Jewish prospects in 1901 were brighter than ever before.[76]

[74] See for example Jacob De Haas, *Zionism: Why and Wherefore* (New York, 1902), p. 19 and Harry Friedenwald, *The Attitude of the American Zionist* (New York, 1907), p. 19; *AH*, Aug. 6, Sept. 3, 17, 1897.

[75] Naomi W. Cohen, *American Jews and the Zionist Idea* (New York, 1975), pp. 6–7, 11–3.

[76] Hahn in *JM*, Jan. 11, 1901.

The American Jewish community never underestimated the severity of the anti-Semitic outbreaks in western Europe. Communal leaders and newspapers faithfully followed and reported foreign developments and watched with equal concentration how the American press handled the news. They considered anti-Semitism more than a Jewish problem; it was a blow to civilization and humanity which deserved the condemnation of all rational and moral individuals. Loyal to the Enlightenment's teachings on the nature of man and his inevitable progress, American Jews expected a concerned and sympathetic response from their Christian neighbors. Some banked, too, on international public opinion to stem the agitation. The *American Hebrew* was not naive by Enlightenment standards when it declared that Germany could not persecute its Jews with impunity: "No state," the paper said, "can well afford to excite the contempt of its peers, as the encouragement or tolerance of anti-Semitism naturally must."[77]

As hatred of the Jew flourished in the 80's and 90's, American Jews showed increasingly that they considered themselves personally involved in the predicament of their European brethren. After all, this new *Judenhetze* was not directed against the dirty Polish Jews but against the acculturated and successful westerners who were the models for the young community. American Jews began to talk of anti-Semitism as an indivisible web. Some maintained that the spirit underlying the exclusion of Jews from American hotels was no less menacing than that on which European agitation rested,[78] and they watched apprehensively lest additional outbreaks of the European virus appear on the American scene.

The Jewish fears were not unfounded. There is little doubt that the European currents of anti-Semitism did leave their mark in the United States albeit in different forms. Nathaniel Shaler, a dean at Harvard University, wrote at the turn of the century that German anti-Semitism and the Dreyfus Affair contributed to discrimination against Jews in schools and hotels. He maintained

[77] *AH*, Sept. 7, 1888.

[78] *Ibid.*, Apr. 21, 1893, Sept. 22, 1899; see also Peters in Sept. 1, 1899.

that because of the European "epidemic of hatred" a change had occurred at Harvard where a new and palpable dislike for Jews had developed.[79] European anti-Semitism did not create American bigotry, but it encouraged the ever-latent dimension of anti-Semitism to emerge to a new level of articulation.

Although American Jews identified with the west Europeans, they assumed no responsibility for fighting the specific agitators in Germany, Austria, or France. (Their role was reversed with respect to eastern Europe. There they did not identify with the Jewish victims but they actively responded to the government-instigated persecutions.) The Americans set up no separate committee or clearing house to mobilize the community or coordinate its response. Mark Twain's suggestion that American Jewry should organize politically and thereby be able to encourage and assist fellow Jews in western Europe was generally greeted with mixed opinions.[80] Nor did American Jews often presume to advise the Jews in Europe on how to defend themselves. On two occasions the *American Israelite* showed impatience with what it considered overly-timid tactics in Germany, and it stated that the American Jews would have responded differently.[81] But the Europeans did not ask for help, and the tradition of western European superiority vis-à-vis American Jewry remained unbroken.

For the most part the American Jewish response was a verbal battle led by pulpit and press against European anti-Semites. Those American Jewish representatives lost no opportunity to ridicule their adversaries or point up their inconsistencies — e.g. anti-Semites who preached racial distinctiveness but yet accepted converted Jews; anti-Semites who on the one hand denounced the pervasive Jewish presence in contemporary society and on the other criticized Jews for their exclusiveness.[82] Nevertheless, they

[79] Nathaniel Shaler, *The Neighbor* (Boston, 1904), pp. 108–14; cf. M. Fluegel in *AH*, Jan. 16, 1885.

[80] M. Twain, "Concerning the Jews," p. 534; *AH*, Sept. 8 (C. Sulzberger), Oct. 6, 20, 1899 (Mendes); *JM*, Sept. 1, 1899.

[81] *AI*, Nov. 28, 1879, Aug. 5, 1881; see also *ibid.*, Apr. 20, 1893 (Krauskopf).

[82] *AH*, Sept. 10, 1886, Aug. 31, 1888.

seriously discussed and often answered the common charges of anti-Semitic propaganda: Jewish power, unfair advantage of the Jew over the non-Jew, exclusiveness, disloyalty. They revealed their own insecurity by adopting many of the categories or measuring rods of their opponents. For example, they talked increasingly of race even though they hedged on the validity of that concept. They tried to explain away Jewish separatism and the absence of Jews in productive economic pursuits — thus in effect admitting the truth of those charges. And when most of them attacked the Zionists within their community, they were again accepting anti-Semitic reasoning. One charge American Jews did not fight was that of Jewish international organization or conspiratorial designs. In fact, they continued to press for cooperation among Jews throughout the world and for support of the Alliance Israélite Universelle at a time when the latter was becoming a favorite target of the Judeophobes.[83]

The new ant-Semitism made the American Jew more self-conscious, and it led him to greater introspection and assessment of his own faults and weaknesses. It also prompted a reconsideration of the lines dividing groups of Jews within the American Jewish community. Were such distinctions still tenable when, as Henrietta Szold wrote, "A suspicion began to dawn upon us that to the outside world a Jew is a Jew."[84] Had American Jews been united and attuned to communal planning, their idea of union among the various strata within the community or that of self-

[83] *AH*, Jan. 2, 1885, Feb. 15, 1895; *JM*, Nov. 2, 1877, May 10, 1878, May 9, 1879, Sept. 12, 1884. For a contrary view see Robert Rockaway, "Anti-Semitism in an American City: Detroit, 1850–1914," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly*, LXIV (September 1974), 53.

[84] *AH*, Feb. 22, May 5, 1899 (H. Szold). The *American Correspondence*, a periodical sympathetic to Germany's Jews, lashed out against German Jews in American who openly disparaged their east-European brethren. Such behavior, the paper charged, not only played into the hands of anti-Semites abroad, but it suggested that those Jews were more loyal to German than to American principles, and it could even blunt America's sympathy for the Jews. Jan. 29, Feb. 5, March 12, 26, 1881.

improvement might have been channeled constructively to reinforce the defenses of the minority group.

As it was, the new anti-Semitism before 1900 had little discernible effect on the communal institutions of American Jews. The Americans may have learned that virulent Jew-hatred had not died with the *ancien régime* and that they too were vulnerable. But most did not understand that anti-Semitism was a symptom of a new universe of discourse, one which repudiated eighteenth century liberalism and glorified conservatism and nationalism. If they had understood, perhaps they would have been better equipped to face the more serious challenges of the twentieth century.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DUTCH JEWISH COMMUNITY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE WRITING OF CONTEMPORARY JEWISH HISTORY

By Dr. J. S. Fishman

I

The reconstruction of the Dutch Jewish community took place after the greatest tragedy which ever befell European Jewry. The Hitler Catastrophe, as it used to be called, or the Holocaust, as it is presently known, resulted in an enormous loss of population, of leaders, of the traditionally great centers of the Jewish faith and Jewish learning — not to speak of theft, vandalism, and destruction of personal and communal property, and the personal suffering of the survivors. Individuals, families, communities, as well as the collectivity of world Jewry had to come to terms with this unprecedented disaster. Both the survivors and the communities which were spared were obliged to reconsider fundamentally the place of the Jew in the modern world. The Holocaust and the bitter disappointments of the postwar years made it clear that even in countries where Jews had lived for centuries, they did not share the same destiny as the local Gentiles.[1] Jewish survivors were confronted with new struggles and exacerbated forms of the old anti-Semitism. Frequently, local populations were far from hospitable to Jews returning from concentration camps and from hiding. Many had accepted the fact that Jews would cease to live within their midst. Displeasure at the Jews' return was reported even in Denmark.[2] In Kielce, Poland, a planned progrom of horrifying

[1] The term "Gentile" is here used to refer to a non-Jew who may not necessarily be a professing Christian.

[2] Nehemiah Robinson (ed.), *European Jewry Ten Years After the War* (New York: Institute of Jewish Affairs of the World Jewish Congress, 1956), 278.

proportions took place in July 1946, as part of a campaign to drive the Jewish survivors out of Poland.[3]

To understand contemporary Jewish history and present day Jewish life, it is necessary to grasp the importance and the meaning of the reconstruction process. For in a very real sense all modern Jewry is both victim and survivor of the Holocaust and a participant in the subsequent on-going processes of recovery and reconstruction. Perhaps the most significant manifestation of the reconstruction of European Jewry, although geographically relocated, is the birth of the State of Israel. It is possible to perceive both the continuity and transition implied in the birth of this era in the introduction to the Dutch *Luach* (Jewish calendar) for 5706, 1945–1946, the first year after the Liberation:

> A year has passed, a new year begins. It is again possible to publish a Jewish calendar in this country. Publicly. Not like the certainly not unserviceable little calendar which appeared in previous years, in secret. The Jewish data were known both by those in hiding and in the camps. Also then the Jewish holidays were 'celebrated.' And those who lived through those days will never forget this 'celebrating' [done] at peril to their lives.[4] A dissolved community was bound stronger than ever with [the Jewish] people and tradition, a people in the hour of death found a powerful will to live, it understood 'eternal life.' The storm has spent itself. A new epoch begins. It is after the plague.[5]

[3] See Michael Chechinski, "The Kielce Pogrom, 1946," *Soviet Jewish Affairs*, Vol. V, No. 1 (1975), 57–72.

[4] It is not widely known to what extent secret observance took place during the Nazi occupation. In Amsterdam, secret *minyanim* were held regularly, throughout the war, at the home of the *samas* (sexton) of the Sephardi community, S. Mendes Coutinho. Mendes Coutinho assisted in the baking and distribution of *matzot* in 1944 and 1945 and even provided ritual burial to Jews who had died in hiding. Mendes Coutinho died on 14 October 1976, leaving behind a manuscript, giving an account of his activities. It is entitled, "*Gang van Zaken en bijzonderheden sinds eind September, begin October 1945*," and is in the possession of the Sephardi Community of Amsterdam.

[5] J.[acob] S.[oetendorp], introduction to *Luach 5706* (1945–1946) [Amster-

Some aspects of the reconstruction process show continuity with prewar tendencies; in other areas there were new developments, such as demographic effects, changes in community leadership and structure, the evolution of new forms of Jewish self-identification, and the renewed struggle for equality in society. The postwar reconstruction of a single European Jewish community, such as that of the Netherlands, provides a study which will enhance the understanding of reconstruction and its implications.

II

Of the 140,000 Jews who lived in the prewar Netherlands, some 105,000 perished: about 14 percent survived (estimated between 25 to 29,000, leaving some 5,000 unaccounted for).[6] Between 1946 and 1953, relatively many Jews, some 4,400 emigrated; half were under thirty.[7] Generally, the professional classes survived, as they had better means to withstand the hardships of war and were more likely to have relationships with non-Jews who could hide them.[8] About 8,000 Jews were estimated to have survived in hiding; some 2,000 were able to flee,[9] and several hundred returned from the camps. A fairly large number of children was rescued, about

dam, 1945]. Soetendorp later joined the Reform community and became the leading Reform rabbi in the Netherlands, giving great impetus to the spread of Reform Judaism in the Netherlands of the postwar years. He died on 28 July 1976 in Sweden.

[6] Committee for the Demography of Jews in the Netherlands, "Dutch Jewry: A Demographic Analysis; A Post-War Study," *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, Vol. III, No. 2 and Vol. IV, No. 1 (December 1961 / June 1962), 16. The basic demographic studies for postwar Dutch Jewry were published in 1961 (based on 1954 evidence) and in 1971 (1966 evidence). A translation of the 1966 study, with supplementary data, has appeared: Ph. van Praag, *Demography of the Jews in the Netherlands* (Jerusalem: Institute of Contemporary Jewry, 1976).

[7] Ph. van Praag, "Demographische ontwikkeling van de Joden in Nederland sinds 1830," *Mens en Maatschappij*, Vol. XLVII (1972), 178.

[8] Daniel L. Schorr, "The Netherlands," *American Jewish Year Book 5708* (1947–1948) (Philadelphia: J.P.S., 1947) XLIX, 335; "Dutch Jewry: A Demographic Analysis," 16.

[9] "Dutch Jewry: A Demographic Analysis," 17.

2,000, many of whom were returned to the Jewish community. Relatively more youth than adults were deported, for older couples and singles had more freedom of movement and less impediments to going into hiding.[10]

In the official census of 1947 there were 14,346 Jews, and in 1960, 14,503.[11] These low figures partially reflect the hesitation to declare one's self Jewish, known as *registratieangst*. Jewish censes showed 23,723 Jews in 1954 and 29,675 on 1 January 1966. The difference in results may also be understood by the fact that for the purpose of the Jewish census, the offspring of a Jewish mother were counted as Jewish. Thus, some children of mixed marriages were included.[12]

In the immediate postwar years, there were large-scale migrations of many peoples in Europe, among them Jews.[13] The influx of new populations would change the character of the Jewish communities of postwar Germany, Austria, and France from that of the prewar period. In contrast, the Netherlands became a country of emigration for Jew and Gentile, and as a result of immigration restrictions, the Dutch Jewish community was composed mainly of the survivors, with few additions from abroad. The effect of the war on the age structure of Dutch Jewry was to intensify the process of its "aging," observed in prewar days. This population remained subject to the general processes of demographic decline which Arthur Ruppin noted for the early decades of this century, namely a falling birth rate, assimilation, and intermarriage.[14]

[10] "Demographische ontwikkeling," 177. The disproportionately higher mortality rate for children is noted in Jacob Lestschinsky, *Crisis, Catastrophe and Survival* (New York: Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1948), 62 and Salo W. Baron, "From a Historian's Notebook: European Jewry Before and After Hitler" *American Jewish Year Book* (Philadelphia: J.P.S., 1962) LXIII, 46.

[11] Ibid., 168. [12] "Dutch Jewry: A Demographic Analysis," 19, 22, 23.

[13] See Y. Bauer, *Flight and Rescue: Bricha* (New York: Random House, 1971); Joseph B. Schechtman, *Postwar Population Transfers in Europe, 1945–1955* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1962) and Jacob Lestschinsky, "The Rise and Fall of European Jewry," (New York: Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1951) (brochure).

[14] Arthur Ruppin, *The Jews in the Modern World* (London: Macmillan,

III

The Allied liberation of the Netherlands took place in stages, the South before the North, in September 1944 during operation "Market Garden," whose objective was a concentrated Allied thrust towards Berlin. On its second day, 18 September 1944, *Rosh Ha-Shannah* 5705, Eindhoven was liberated. The North was not to be freed until May 1945, because Allied forces met fierce resistance near Arnhem.[15] Between January and May 1945, Jewish leaders who had been hiding in the South met in Eindhoven where, on 7 January, in cooperation with members of the Princess Irene Brigade, they formed the Jewish Coordination Commission for the Liberated Dutch Territory (hereinafter, the J. C. C.). These leaders were radical Zionist activists, who, before the war, had been associated with the *Poalei Tsion* (Left-Socialist-Zionist) movement. They initiated and set the tone of the postwar reconstruction. Recognized by the Joint Distribution Committee and the Central British Fund, the J. C. C. became a conduit for relief funds, thus gaining enhanced prestige and influence. Its purposes, as announced in its newspaper, *Le-Ezrath Ha-Am*, of April 1945 were:

1. To form a center for furnishing information and giving recommendations concerning specifically Jewish matters to official and unofficial bodies, in the Netherlands and elsewhere,
2. To establish itself as a trusted contact address for foreign Jewish aid organizations,
3. To work with other Jewish organizations which have been formed and will be formed,
4. To locate Jews who lived in the Netherlands on 10 May 1940, to restore family bonds as quickly as possible,...

1934), 68–82; and for the Netherlands see: E. Boekman, *Demographie van de Joden in Nederland* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1936), 74–86.

[15] Colonel C. P. Stacey, *The Victory Campaign: The Operations in Northwest Europe, 1944–1945* (Minister of National Defence: *Official History of the Canadian Army in the Second World War*, Vol. III: Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1960), 313–314.

5. Providing for the shortage of religious articles which resulted from the German measures,
6. Taking measures for extending help to the northern part of the Netherlands, insofar as specific Jewish interests are concerned.[16]

The J. C. C. also set up study groups to consider concrete problems, such as legal, religious, and cultural affairs, restitution, and communal organization. The existence of these groups indicates the survivors' immediate and long-term concerns.[17]

While in Eindhoven, the J. C. C. provided an important service by maintaining lists of survivors, distributing relief, and seeking solutions to the community's needs. After the liberation of the North, it expanded its operations, relocating to Amsterdam and forming affiliates in the provinces, thereby effectively building an organization which would include most of Dutch Jewry.[18] When the Jews returned to "normal" life, they needed such amenities as toothbrushes, raincoats, cups, and saucers.[19] The J. C. C. furnished support in goods, money, and medical care. From January to April 1946, it gave 6,497 persons clothes; 1,916, household supplies; 453, food. It also distributed aid to the mixed married and the baptized.[20] As in the South, it maintained a central registration bureau for the survivors.[21]

The J. C. C. had new ideas for the reorganization of the community. In June 1945, after the liberation of the North, *Le-Ezrath Ha-Am* published a declaration of purpose, announcing its position concerning the Jewish community of the future:

[16] *Le-Ezrath Ha-Am*, April 1945. The J. C. C. also considered sending *matzot* to the North in 1945 but this plan could not be carried out.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] S. Kleerekoper, "De Joodse Coördinatie Commissie; Overwinning over chaos," *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad* (6 May 1955), 4.

[19] J. Presser, *Ondergang; De Vervolging en Verdelging van het Nederlandse Jodendom, 1940 1945* (The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1965) II, 511.

[20] "De Joodse Coördinatie Commissie."

[21] "Wat deed de J. C. C.?" *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad* (25 September 1946), 4.

> We must bring together all those who are born Jews and also after this suffering view their being Jewish as an unbreakable part of their life and existence.... We all know that with and after the coming peace the Jewish Question will come up for discussion with new intensity. A fundamental position on it would appear necessary. In the interest of our own future, we must, even now, reflect on it....[22]

In a personal letter of 28 November 1945, written by A. de Jong, its president, one may observe that it envisaged "a Dutch Jewish organization, of which all Jews could be members, and in whatever concerns its spiritual and religious construction, leaves sufficient freedom for each grouping."[23] From the standpoint of modern Jewish communal organization, the proposal suggests a type of roof-organization governed by federative principles.

The intention of the J. C. C. was to build a strong, unified body which could ultimately encourage *aliyah* (emigration to Israel). The participation of radical Zionist activists in rebuilding the community meant a departure from a narrow interpretation of the ideal of the "Liquidation of the Diaspora." It proved to be a transitional organization which met the needs of the moment. At first, it was not apparent that there would be a tendency (as well as a legal necessity) to return to the consistorial form of *kehillah* (congregation) organization which had existed before the war. Its importance declined as individual communities reorganized, and as its leadership ranks, true to their principles, made *aliyah*. By 1948, the J. C. C. had concluded most of its activities. The absence of a unifying organization for Dutch Jewry is still felt and has been the subject of serious consideration by the present Jewish community.[24]

[22] *Le-Ezrath Ha-Am*, June 1945.

[23] A. de Jong to Meyer and Delly [Premsela-Perath], 28 November 1945. The author is grateful to Mr. A. de Jong-Jinon of Jerusalem for providing him with some of his personal correspondence for these years.

[24] *E.g.*, "Nota van de Permanente Commissie met betrekking tot het rapport der 'Commissie Samenwerking'," Amsterdam, 13 December 1965, Archives of Permanent Commission, Amsterdam-Buitenveldert.

It should be noted that with the liberation of Amsterdam many forms of Jewish religious and communal life were immediately resumed. Each of the three Jewish communities began rebuilding: the Ashkenazi congregations, the Sephardi community, and the Reform community of Amsterdam (the latter resumed services in December 1945).[25] On 9 May, a special service for all communities was held at the *Esnoga*, the synagogue of the Sephardi community.[26] On 17 May, the *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad*, weekly of the Jewish community, published its first postwar number; the first official *shechitah* (ritual slaughter of animals) took place on 8 August 1945;[27] and on 2 September 1945 the Netherlands Zionist Federation held its first general meeting.

IV

The trials of the occupation showed that the Jew was subject to a different fate than his fellow Dutchman. This fact challenged many long-accepted assumptions as to the Jew's place in society and initiated a consciousness-awakening process, leading to increasing Jewish sensitivity, involvement, and occasionally a militancy rather uncommon among the Dutch and Dutch Jewry. In the introduction to the calendar, cited above, its author (Jacob Soetendorp) wrote:

> The past years have not only produced a persecution of a dimension which was never before known; they made an end to the tranquil inviolability of which many dreamed. Emancipation appears a delusion and assimilation, an impossibility.[28]

This type of stock-taking — particularly in leadership circles committed to the principle of Jewish survival — would result in a quest for redefinition as Jews, the rejection of the concept

[25] Interview with Dr. M. Goudeket, President of *Verbond van Liberaal-Religieuze Joden in Nederland*, Amsterdam, 7 July 1976, No. 5 (August 1975).

[26] Dr. J. Z. Baruch, "The Portuguese-Israelitic Community of Amsterdam since the Second World War," *De Opbouw*, Jg. XXVII, No. 5 (August, 1975).

[27] *Sjechita*: 1975/1199, Archives of the Permanent Commission, No. 5 (August 1975), not paginated.

[28] *Luach 5706*.

of "*Israëlieten*," or Dutchmen of the Jewish faith (the common post-Emancipation self-definition) and the determination, both personal and communal, to regain self-respect as *Joden*, Jews.[29] On the one hand, within the Jewish community there was a strong tendency to emphasize the "right to be different,"[30] and to struggle for full reinstatement and civil equality. On the other, a refusal in many quarters of general society — even in some governmental agencies — to show a minimal consideration for its Jewish citizens' special needs and to "deny formal recognition of both the Jewish religious community and national minority." To place this struggle in the context of modern European history, the theme of the first decade following the Liberation may be described as one largely of auto-emancipation on the part of the Jewish group opposed by a strong tendency toward counter-emancipation in many quarters of Dutch society.

In the Netherlands the Occupation had brought about a change in the relationships between the Jew and the Gentile. In his chapter, "Jews and Non-Jews in Nazi-occupied Holland,"[31] L. de Jong described the impact of Nazi propaganda on public attitudes towards the Jews:

> Consciously or unconsciously people had been taught to think along the lines of 'Jew' and 'non-Jew' or 'Aryan'. A prewar distinction had grown into a separation. And even those who

[29] See M. H. Gans, *De Joden in Nederland* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1976).

[30] "The task of the Jewish people in the nineteenth century was to fight for equality and the right to be like others. In the twentieth century, our task is to fight for the right to be different from others, because real democracy cannot consist in the famous slogan of the French Revolution, 'To the Jews as human beings everything. To the Jews as Jews nothing'." [Actually: "*Aux-Juifs comme nation nous ne donnons rien; aux Juifs comme individus nous donnons tout.*"] — Nachum Goldman as quoted in *European Conference of Jewish Communities* (London: World Jewish Congress, 1975), 110.

[31] In Max Beloff (ed.), *On the Track of Tyranny* (London: Valentine, Mitchell, 1960), 139–155. See also, L. de Jong, '*Een sterfgeval te Auswitz*' (Amsterdam: Querido, 1967).

> rejected the separation, had to face the fact that the separation had been carried out and was being acknowledged by others.[32]

For their part, Jews acutely felt this disruption in their relationship with their surroundings. Some thought that they would be welcomed back with open arms, and their disappointment was great.[33] The Jews felt strange. They had undergone a unique experience. They suffered trauma which much of the public did not share. They looked at the world without understanding, "especially that this could happen in Holland, where supposedly there was no anti-Semitism." They came back not knowing how they could ever reestablish ties with the Gentile community.[34]

When the extent of the loss to the Jewish people became known, there was an intensification of Zionist feeling. This was in contrast with the prewar years when the Netherlands Zionist Federation was small and dominated mainly by the privileged. While before the war, Zionist membership had numbered 3,487 in 1936,[35] and

[32] *Ibid.*, 153, 154.

[33] "The Portuguese Israelitic Community."

[34] Interview with J. van Amerongen-Arnon, former treasurer of the J. C. C., Jerusalem, 3 September 1974. See C. Van Emden-Boas, "Antisemitism en collectieve aansprakkelijkheid," *De Vrije Katheder*, No. 14 (13 July 1945), 36–38; of related interest: J. S. Fishman, "The Ecumenical Challenge of Jewish Survival; Pastor Kalma and Post-War Dutch Society, 1946," *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* (in press). Dr. Alfred Wiener, an eye-witness observer (1946) and outsider, described how the circumstances had affected the behavior of some in a manner generally associated with times of war and social disorder. He noted that the persecution with its horrors had transformed the survivors into bitter people and that many had developed a deep distrust of officialdom,

> If it is a matter of 'go-getting', nobody is particular about the means. It would, however, be quite wrong, on that account, to cast stones on these people, for no one is likely to do full justice to them who has not been, as they have been, face to face with death.

(Dr. Alfred Wiener, "A Visit to Holland; March, 1946," [London: Jewish Central Information Office, 1946], 7. Archives of the American Jewish Committee, New York.)

[35] Herbert I. Bloom, "Jews in the Kingdom of the Netherlands," *Contemporary Jewish Record*, Vol. II, No. 1 (January 1939), 29. The author thanks

about 4,000 in 1940 in a general population of about 140,000, in February of 1947, it was 2,800 in a reduced population of 25–29,000. Thus, in relative terms, the influence of the Zionist movement in the Jewish community greatly increased. The impact of the war on Jewish identification may be seen in a memorandum of 8 August 1947, which the Dutch Jewish community addressed to UNSCOP (the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine). Originally drafted in English, this document is cited with minimal corrections:

> The increased desire for immigration is caused, rather than by the economical situation, by psychological factors. First of all: the survivors are living and working in a country where the shades of the dead are pursuing them incessantly. Eighty percent of the whole group has been exterminated. Secondly: the idea that even the goodwill and friendship of the Dutch people could not prevent a wholesale extermination of Dutch Jewry is very [dis]quieting to the survivors.[36]

The echo of this disillusionment may be heard in the address of 27 January 1946 which Mr. I. van Creveld delivered at the first postwar gathering of the Central Commission of the *Nederlands Israëlietisch Kerkgenootschap*, the traditional consistorial roof organization of the Ashkenazi communities (a corporation recognized by law) which would gradually supplant the J. C. C.:

> Through this gathering proof is offered that, although we are beaten bloody, wronged, maimed, and decimated, we do not consider ourselves beaten... thus we sit on the rubble heaps of what was once a flourishing Jewish community. The word

Ms. Cyma Horowitz, Library Director of the American Jewish Committee Institute of Human Relations, for providing a copy of the above. See also: Ludy Giebels, *De Zionistische Beweging in Nederland, 1899–1941* (The Zionist Movement in the Netherlands, 1899–1941) (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1975), and S. de Wolff, *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland; Laatste Bedrijf* (History of the Jews in the Netherlands; Last Stand) (Amsterdam: Arbeiderspers, 1946).

[36] Archive of the Central Commission.

> of Estella Hijmans-Hertzfeld [the nineteenth-century poetess]: "The Jew may not think, not feel, not act; and if one allows him to, then he has to be a pariah," that word has not only been fulfilled; everything was much, much worse.[37]

Thus, the 150th anniversary year of the Emancipation in the Netherlands slipped by uncommemorated in a community that has been rather sensitive to observances of important historical anniversaries.[38]

V

A complex aspect of the reconstruction process during the immediate postwar years was the community's relations with the government, which included confrontations on several difficult issues. The basic question at stake was the rights and prerogatives of minorities in Dutch society, their extent in prewar days, and the degree to which they would be honored and respected in the postwar era for a community whose numbers, through tragic events, had been radically diminished. In practice, the policy of the various governmental agencies in their dealings with the Jewish community were influenced by the extent to which they were prepared to take into account the historical causes for the community's reduced size, namely the Holocaust, and thus to make accommodations

[37] "*Notulen van de vergadering tot het houden van besprekingen teneinde te komen tot wederoprichting van de Centrale Commissie tot de Algemeene Zaken van het N.I.K.*," 27 January 1946, Central Commission Archives. Some of the practical problems which came under discussion at this meeting were: the administration of smaller communities and organizations, the fusion and liquidation of congregations, restoration of synagogues and other buildings to the Jewish community, the administration (and liquidation) of the properties and assets of communities which were too small to function. Later, administrative provision would be made for retrenchment and centralization through redrafting the bylaws.

[38] Interestingly, in 1956, the 160th anniversary was remembered in an extensive article, see: S. Bloemgarten, "Honderdzestig jaar geleden werden de Joden burgers van Nederland," *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad* (26 September 1956), 5.

for its traditional rights, prerogatives, and special needs.[39] During the first decade following the Liberation, the community's dealings with the government involved two sorts of affairs: 1) problems, mostly of a non-recurring nature, associated with reconstruction, and; 2) subjects relating to routine contacts between a religious community recognized by law and the governmental agencies. Included in the first category were such issues as the return of the orphan children, restitution of stolen property, normalizing of the status of stateless persons (mostly German Jewish refugees who had not been naturalized before the Occupation), and later on, meeting challenges to the prerogatives of Sabbath-observing shopkeepers to remain open on Sundays and the practice of *Shechitah*. The second category of affairs involved the recovery of subsidies for spiritual leaders, educational institutions, franking privileges, deferments for students in the *Nederlands Israëlietisch Seminarium* (which in prewar days had prepared rabbis and whose postwar activities were confined to training instructors of religion). These relations usually involved benefits guaranteed by law. While the routine matters were generally settled quickly and to the satisfaction of the community, the first category presented the greatest difficulties. In questions relating to reconstruction there was a tendency to deny the validity of historical arguments and to ignore the events of the recent past. This was particularly painful when at stake were such crucial issues as recovering the orphan children and reclaiming of property and assets — important for an impoverished and systematically despoiled community. J. Presser noted that the government, following a-historical principles,

[39] *Ondergang*, II, 506: Presser described the plight of the returning Jew, as follows:

> Member of a group, which initially appeared to be completely atomized, the Jew sought his way in surroundings which all but too frequently refused to take him in, in which he had to feel unwelcome, which held it against him when he asserted his rights on his lost place, his previous possessions; indeed, it simply appeared to be irritated that he still existed and abused him not infrequently with suspicion, aversion, and contempt.

> ... maintained the guiding principle: 'Jews are Dutchmen like all other Dutchmen,' which actually indicated a discrimination, because it overlooked the fact that in the period of the Occupation, the Jews were much, much harder hit than the others.[40]

In application, this approach could well be negative and cruel, at times implying the community's political disenfranchisement. The struggle against policies framed in this spirit went beyond the restoration of Jewish self-respect and spelled the end of deferential behavior on the part of many Jewish leaders and opinion-makers.[41] It may have prompted new manifestations of Jewish identity: aggressive, occasionally brash, not only in communal life but also in individual contacts with Gentiles. It could well have brought about a reluctance in some circles to engage in social contacts with Gentiles.[42]

The controversy over the future of the surviving Jewish war orphans left a legacy of bitterness within the Dutch Jewish community and provides a revealing indication of current attitudes in circles whose good faith could not be questioned.[43] One of the most difficult aspects of this complex issue was that it placed the Jewish community in conflict with benefactors who, at risk to their lives, and at great sacrifice, had rescued these children. The

[40] *Ibid.*, 512.

[41] [Daniel L. Schorr], "The Netherlands," *American Jewish Year Book 5710* (1949–1950) (Philadelphia: J.P.S., 1949) LI, 306: "While Dutch Jews were financially prosperous, they were psychologically unhappy. Dutch Jewish leaders felt that to live both as a Dutchman and a Jew involved an intolerable split in loyalties, and were openly declaring their choice of life as Jews rather than Dutchmen. This feeling seemed to be understood by non-Jews, and did not produce anti-Semitism."

[42] Malcolm D. Rivkin, *Jews and Judaism in Post-War Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Stencil), (1954), 46. A copy of this study, which is the pioneering examination of postwar Dutch Jewry, may be found in the Bibliotheca Rosenthaliana, Amsterdam.

[43] For an inclusive survey of the controversy, see: J. S. Fishman, "Jewish War Orphans in the Netherlands: The Guardianship Issue, 1945–1950," *Wiener Library Bulletin*, Vol. XXVII, New Series No. 30/31 (1973/74), 31–36.

problem was defined in such a way that the Jewish community had but a marginal voice in a matter which it considered to be of primary interest. In presenting the account, it is the author's objective to consider its civil-political aspects in the context of the community's relations with the government. The question of the war orphans may be examined, for example, as a problem in child psychology or in social work, and these aspects remain for specialists in such fields. More than thirty years have elapsed since the controversy began, and this subject, though sensitive, should not be denied systematic historical examination.

During the Occupation, various resistance groups made plans for the welfare of the orphan children after the Liberation and drafted a project of law for legislation which would protect their interests.[44] In August 1945, the restored government, following these guidelines, established a guardianship commission to rule on the custody of the 2,041 surviving orphans.[45] Much preparation had taken place before the Liberation, and consequently the commission which it planned could informally begin its functions on the liberation of Amsterdam. While some Jewish leaders had been consulted during the occupation, the solution to this problem, so far as the community was concerned, was preempted, and acceptance of an existing arrangement meant something very different from participation in its conception.

Under the chairmanship of Dr. Gesina H. J. van der Molen, who in 1946 became Lecturer in International Law at the Free University of Amsterdam, the Commission for War Foster Children was originally composed of twenty-five members, ten of whom were Jewish. The exact system by which its membership was selected is not entirely clear, although there is evidence that the chairman could nominate candidates and may have had an influential say

[44] *Onderdrukking en Verzet: Nederland in Oorlogstijd* (Arnhem: van Loghum Slaterus, n. d.) IV, 204.

[45] "Besluit van den waarnemend Secretaris-Generaal van het Ministerie van Justitie, houdende eenige maatregelen in het belang van oorlogspleegkinderen," *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, No. 39 (8 May 1945), 4, 5, Courtesy of Mr. S. Baracs, and Royal Decree No. 137 of August 1945.

on the acceptance (or inadmissibility) of certain individuals. Apparently, the Jewish representation was coöpted by the chairman, and was composed partially of assimilationists, along with professing Jews, who together constituted less than half of the Commission's membership. The Commission's majority and the Government considered the issue to be a national one. Prevalent opinion was to deny the very existence of a Jewish community, as such, because, it was argued, many Jews advocated differing principles, and hence there was disunity. The community, it was alleged, was divided into those who were "extreme Jews," opposed by those who were "Dutch-inclined." Furthermore, the Commission took the official view that since there never had been any Roman Catholic or Protestant guardianship boards, it would be in conflict with the Dutch legal system to establish a Jewish guardianship board.[46] Thus, the corporate Jewish community was not recognized, nor was any specific Jewish interest in the matter.

In the Commission's meetings the question immediately arose as to whether the children should remain with their "war foster parents," be returned to surviving Jewish relatives, or be given to Jewish guardianship organizations to be placed either with Jewish war foster parents, in local Jewish institutions, or to be sent on *aliyah*. In practice, the Commission rejected any general claim of the Jewish community to these children, and in cases where the parents had not been observant, challenged their bonds with the Jewish past. Instead, it examined each case according to the "interest of the child" — viewed in the perspective of its actual surroundings and the wishes of the deceased parents, as reconstructed by the Commission. Writing in the pages of *Trouw*, an orthodox Protestant daily, the chairman of the Commission explained in May 1946 what this reconstruction of the parents' wishes meant. From this document it may be observed that the rescue of Jewish lives in the Netherlands did not necessarily imply the intent to preserve them as Jews:

[46] *Verslag Persconferentie* [OPK] (22 July 1946), prepared by reporter of *Nieuw Israëlietisch Weekblad* (manuscript). (Courtesy of Miss L. van Weezel).

> According to some people they [the children] must be given back to the Jewish community. In most cases the children were entrusted by the *parents* to resistance workers, and in other cases they [resistance workers], on their own, spirited them from the Germans. Does the Jewish community now simply have the right to demand these children? Did these children really belong to the Jewish community alone? Even when the parents did not have a single tie further with Judaism? Even when they felt themselves to be more Dutch than Jewish? Even when they gave evidence of being attracted to Christianity? Don't the *parents* primarily have the right, particularly as they lost their lives in this strange cruelty, that the interests of their children be protected with the most individualized care, and that account be taken of their wishes in these matters insofar as they can be traced.[47]

In June 1946, the Chief Rabbi of the Holy Land, Isaac Halevy Herzog, came to the Netherlands in hopes of obtaining the childrens' return and paid a series of visits to Queen Wilhelmina, governmental ministers, religious leaders, and members of the Commission for War Foster Children.[48] His efforts were inconclusive and his misgivings profound. In the account of his visit to Europe for the purpose of rescuing Jewish orphan children he commented on Holland by evoking the *midrash* on Jacob's Prayer (Hebrew Bible, Genesis 32:12; *R.S.V.* 32:11). The statement is sharp and polemical. Nevertheless, it was made by one of the eminent Jewish leaders of this century and cannot be dismissed:

> 'Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my *brother*, from the hand of Esau,' [for I fear him, lest he come and slay us

[47] Dr. Gesina H. J. van der Molen, "Diefstal van JOODSCHE KINDEREN?" (Theft of JEWISH CHILDREN?) *Trouw Weekblad*, Jg. IV, No. 21 (25 May 1946), 1.

[48] Some of the leaders whom Rabbi Herzog met were: Dr. L. J. M. Beel, Minister of Interior, Prime Minister Prof. Dr. W. Schermerhorn, and W. Drees, Minister of Social Affairs. He also spoke with Cardinal de Jong and the Reform Synodic Commission.

> all, the mothers with the children.] — if he comes to me as my *brother* or if he comes to me as Esau, and [he] added that rescue was much more difficult if the oppressor comes as a *brother*....[49]

The denial of the Jewish interest in the care of the Jewish war orphans was seen by many Jews as a form of disenfranchisement. Resentment had been aroused, because certain leaders held that in the context of State-Church relationships the Government had deprived the Jewish community of its traditional right to autonomy in its own affairs. This painfully unacceptable situation led to the launching of an energetic and emotional campaign of protest. In July 1946, the Jewish minority walked out of the Commission, and, despite subsequent mediation, it was impossible for the community and the Commission's majority to accept a common approach. In November 1946, Reine Friedmann-van der Heide, Director of the Social Division of *Le-Ezrath Ha-Jeled*, the Jewish guardianship organization which had been set up to meet the children's

[49] [Ja'akov Herzog (ed.)], *Mas'a ha-Hazalah* (Mission of Rescue) (Jerusalem, [1947]), 37. The *midrash* referred to is relatively new and originates from *Beth HaLevi* (The House of Levi) (Vilna, 1883/84), by Rabbi Joseph Dov Baer Soloveitchik of Brisk (Brest-Litovsk). It reflects the circumstances of the post-Emancipation era when Jews were often admitted into Gentile society, provided that they converted. The following is a translation of this particular *midrash* which, although published a few years later, gives an accurate account of how it would be understood at mid-century:

> "Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau." There are two methods by which the Gentiles make war against Israel: 1) persecution and destruction [or forced conversion]; 2) anti-Semitism with silken gloves. When they appear as lovers, they are sometimes more dangerous than the open enemies of Israel, and thus Jacob beseeched: 1) deliver me from my *brother* while he appears as my *brother* and undermines me in order to destroy me without my noticing; 2) from the hand of *Esau* when he shows his true face as an open enemy of Israel...

(Shlomo Yahalomi [ed.], *Peninei Torah* [Tel-Aviv, 1956/1957].) The author acknowledges Rabbi Z. Gotthold of the Ministry of Religion, Jerusalem, Israel, for the reference to Rabbi Herzog's account and to the Chief Rabbi of Amsterdam, M. Just, for the *midrash*.

needs, published the pamphlet, *The Jewish War Foster Child*, which was widely distributed. She contended that the Jewish organizations had not been properly consulted, and in the light of the recent tragedy and the Dutch legal tradition, an injustice had been committed against the Jewish community, particularly since no other group had ever, or would ever, conceivably be treated in such a manner.[50] In June 1949, the Jewish community showed its anguish and indignation through a public, mass demonstration of protest. Shortly after, new legislation was passed, dissolving the Commission and placing the matter under the existing Minors Protection Board of Amsterdam. The outcome was that by 1953 the number of children definitely assigned to non-Jewish environments was placed at 358.[51]

The highlight of the orphan children drama was the kidnapping of two girls assigned to Jewish guardians, but hidden by their Catholic war foster parents — the notorious Anneke Beekman and Rebecca Meljado cases. Rebecca was discovered in a Belgian convent in March 1953, while Anneke, also hidden there, was

[50] Reine Friedmann-van der Heide, *Het Joodse Oorlogspleegkind* (Amsterdam, 1946), 7, 8:

> It is this fact that offends the sense of justice of the Jews in the Netherlands, that has compelled them to turn repeatedly to the Government, without a satisfactory solution being reached. It would be as little conceivable in the Netherlands of 1939 that a commission composed of a majority of non-Catholics should pronounce on the meaning of the sacraments of baptism, confession, marriage, *etc.* But it appears to be permissible in this traditionally tolerant Netherlands that a group consisting of an overwhelming majority of non-Jews should decide on what meaning attaches to membership of one of the Jewish religious congregations, to the Jewish-consecrated marriage, even, indeed, to circumcision. There obtained in the Netherlands — that is, until 10 May 1940 — the rule that all religious communities were autonomous within their spiritual sphere. This held for all religious communities; as applied to the Jewish religious community, this right — as seen from the decisions of the Commission for War Foster Children — has not yet been restored.

[51] Gefussioneerde Joodse Instellingen voor Kinderbescherming, "Statistiek Oorlogspleegkinderen per 31 December 1953," *Jaarverslag 1953* (Amsterdam, 1953), 15.

spirited away. Anneke did not surface until 1961, after having reached her majority, a devout Catholic young lady. This episode is parallel to the Finaly affair in France[52] and confronted the leadership of the Dutch Jewish community with one of its most difficult postwar challenges. A sordid aspect was the occasion it gave for expressions of poorly concealed anti-Semitism, particularly in the provincial Catholic press.[53]

Another battleground for rights was the area of material restitution. Most pressing were the consequences of governmental policies pertaining to inheritance and reclamation of property. Suffice it to state that there was an attitude of callousness, or perhaps even hostility, to Jewish needs. No new legislation was introduced to facilitate the quick and fair distribution of the estates of Holocaust victims.[54] Certain contemplated revisions in the inheritance laws, abandonned under sharp challenge, would have further impoverished the community. Under normal peacetime conditions, one would have inherited only from close relatives, but the Holocaust had made many distant family relations unexpected beneficiaries. To end this, Minister of Justice J. H. van Maarseveen (in office from 3 July 1946 to 7 August 1948) planned new regulations to make the state beneficiary to the estates of Jews who had perished in camps and left no surviving relatives closer than first cousin.[55]

The most important operation in this process was the liquidation

[52] See: Nicolas Baudy, "The Affair of the Finaly Children," *Commentary*, Vol. XV, No. 6 (June 1953), 547–558; Jules Isaac, *L'Affaire Finaly* (Marseille: Editions du cercle intellectuel, 1953); Moïse Heller, *L'Affaire Finaly* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1960). Of related interest: R. O.-K. [Régine Orfinger-Karlin], "Une Affaire Finaly belge" *La Revue Nouvelle*, Vol. XXVI, No. 7 (July 1957) 76–85; and Gemma Volli, *Il Caso Mortarra nel primo centenario* (Rome: La Rassegna Mensile di Israel, 1960).

[53] J. S. Fishman, "The Anneke Beekman Affair and the Dutch News Media," *Jewish Social Studies* (in press).

[54] *Ondergang*, II, 511, 512: "Only with the law of 2 June 1949 were provisions made for drawing up death certificates of the missing and subsequently there followed new, highly complicated questions of succession."

[55] Interview with Prof. Mr. I. Kisch, Amsterdam, 25 January 1976.

of the Lipmann Rosenthal Bank on the Sarphatistraat, Amsterdam, a Nazi administered front-institution to which Dutch Jews had been compelled to surrender their personal assets. Lipmann-Rosenthal Sarphatistraat (hereinafter LIRO) received money, stocks, bonds, jewels, and insurance policies. This did not include other provisions which were made for the systematic expropriation of Jewish businesses and property.[56] With the war's conclusion, most of the LIRO assets were no longer on the premises.[57]

An organization was founded to liquidate the LIRO Sarphatistraat branch. If a Jew turned over assets before 1 January 1943, an account in his name would have been credited, but, with the cessation of this procedure, an enormous problem of sorting out individual rights ensued. The question arose as to the extent of payment, because everything had been sold. Much of the assets which LIRO received went into state paper; part had been converted into Netherlands state paper and part into German. The latter was in Berlin, and of no value. The problem included sorting out individual claims and regaining the LIRO assets, so that they could be distributed.[58] At first, the executors gave a valuation at between 25 to 50 percent. The central issue was that a large part of its nominal assets were in German treasury paper, and although the Government had redeemed similar paper from the Netherlands Bank, it refused to do so here.[59] The second problem was the restoration of securities of which Jews had similarly been despoiled. The securities had changed hands many times and their market value increased.

[56] See: L. de Jong, "Vermogensliquidatie," *Het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden in de Tweede Wereldoorlog* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1976) VII, 419–434; of related interest, B. Karlsberg, "German Federal Compensation and Restitution Laws and Jewish Victims in the Netherlands," *Studia Rosenthaliana* II (1968), 196, 197.

[57] Interview with Mr. A. J. v. d. Leeuw, Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation, Amsterdam, 8 December 1975.

[58] *Ibid.*

[59] Daniel L. Schorr, "The Netherlands," *American Jewish Year Book 5708* (1947–1948) (Philadelphia: J.P.S., 1947) XLIX, 336.

Only after prolonged court battles did the Jewish community ultimately achieve some satisfaction in the matter of restitution. Its victories were embodied in two court decisions: one of these was a decision of the Court of Restitution in Amsterdam on 19 May 1952 that current owners of securities expropriated from Jews were obliged to return them to the original owners or to make payment at current market values together with all profits earned from them.[60] The result was that on 20 May, the day after the decision, the Amsterdam Stock Market began a virtual strike. It refused to make up quotations, and a crisis ensued. The "strike" ended on 28 May, after conferences between the stock exchange board and the minister of finance when the latter addressed a letter to the brokers promising to initiate legislation to bring relief to them.[61] The second decision rendered by the Restitution Court on 1 July 1952 ordered the Netherlands Bank and the Bank Albert de Bary to pay 30,000,000 guilders and 20,000,000 respectively to the trustees in the liquidation of the LIRO assets (in the matter of the German treasury paper).[62] Through these decisions the percentage valuation of the LIRO assets rose to above 90 percent, but these battles which dragged on into the 'fifties were hard fought, and only through the persistence of a small circle of Jewish jurists, in particular Mr. H. Sanders of Rotterdam and Prof. Mr. E. Meijers of Leiden University, was a partial measure of satisfaction achieved.

An indication of governmental indifference to the recent tragedy which befell the Jewish community was the fact that it named two commissions to handle affairs in which the community had an interest but in which it did not allow it to be directly represented. These were the Commission to Examine the Matter of a Likely Increase in the State Contribution to Ministers' Salaries and the Commission for War Damage to Church Buildings.[63] The com-

[60] Daniel L. Schorr, "The Netherlands," *American Jewish Year Book 5713* (1952–1953) (Philadelphia: J.P.S., 1952) LIV, 274.

[61] *Ibid.*, 274, 275.

[62] *Ibid.*, 275.

[63] *Handelingen der Centrale Commissie* (5 February 1950), 83, 84.

munities represented, for example, in the Commission for War Damage to Church Buildings were: the Roman Catholic Church, the Dutch Reformed Church, the Calvinist Church, the Mennonite Communities, and the Old Catholic Church. In a letter to the *Nederlands Israëlietisch Kerkgenootschap* of 6 August 1949 the Secretary General of this commission informed it that it could be represented through one of the above groups.[64] On 10 August, the Permanent Commission of the Jewish community replied that it would like to participate directly; that it could represent the interests of the other two Jewish communities, and particularly "in connection with the extraordinary great damage which the buildings of the *N.I.K.* especially have suffered, and also in connection with the special problems which are associated with the rebuilding of these structures."[65] In his answer of 19 August 1949, the commission's secretary-general rejected the request, and the Jewish communities of the Netherlands, because of their reduced numbers, were denied representation on the same footing with the other major religious communities.[66]

[64] Archives of the Permanent Commission, Amsterdam-Buitenveldert, item 1713.

[65] *Ibid.*

[66] *Ibid.*, Notary E. Spier, then president of the Permanent Commission, commented:

> The Government considers us now like one of the many small communities which do not belong in such commissions. Now, already, people from this quarter no longer take historical arguments into account, and now that recently the number of our membership has so sharply fallen as a result of catastrophic events, they have clearly let us feel that we no longer count. It would have been more elegant if, for the time being, we were allowed to sit in commissions in which in earlier days we would certainly have been represented. The policy of the Government is certainly not "*bekowedlich*" [honorable].

(*Handelingen der Centrale Commissie* [5 February 1950], 84, 85).

At this same meeting, Notary Spier added,

> It is less pleasant that it must be established that the interest of the Dutch people and of the Dutch Government for Jewish interests has become very indifferent, this in contrast with before the German occupation.

In addition to the above aspects of the reconstruction process where the community waged battles for reinstatement, it also had to meet challenges to the prerogatives of Jewish shopkeepers who observed the Sabbath to remain open on Sundays[67] and to the practice of *shechitah*.[68] It was not entirely by coincidence that

> He hopes that this is not based on anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism is not to be fought and is a greater evil for the Dutch people than for the Jews.

(*Ibid.*, 100).

In his article, "The Spiritual Reconstruction of European Jewry," S. Baron predicted (in 1945) that in countries having homogeneous populations, particularly in Eastern Europe, there would be a tendency to force Jews to assimilate. Giving an example, he referred to an interview of 10 August 1945 where President Benes of Czechoslovakia, a man with a long record of friendship for the Jews, stated:

> The establishment of a Jewish Home in Palestine is a necessity for all nations, because anti-Semitism is a regrettable but practically inevitable social phenomenon. It will not vanish till the creation of a Jewish country granting citizenship to all Jewry. It would be difficult to repatriate all Jews there, but it could be done soon at least for European Jews. Those who would not leave for Palestine ought to be assimilated completely to the people of the country they want to live in, or live there as a citizen of a foreign state.

(*Commentary*, Vol. I, No. 1 [November 1945], 10). This citation would indicate that even in a country such as Czechoslovakia, which distinguished itself in its respect for the minority rights provisions of the Versailles treaties, the idea of the place of the Jew in society had changed.

[67] See: Mr. S. Boas, "Wijziging der Winkelsluitingswet," *Hakehilla*, Jg. II, No. 9 (May 1957), 4, 5.

[68] Present *shechitah* legislation originates from a law of 5 June 1920 (No. 285): "Besluit van den 5den Juni 1920, tot uitvoering van de artikelen 18 en 25 van de Vleeschkeuringswet," *Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden*, which by its article 7 excepted those animals from stunning which were "intended for neckcut according to the Jewish rite." With the Nazi occupation, this law was revoked on 16 August 1940 (*Nederlandsche Staatsblad*, 20 August 1940). This was, it should be noted, one of the earliest anti-Jewish measures which the Nazis introduced. The first, enacted barely two months after the beginning of the occupation, was that all Jews were expelled from the civil defense organization in which they had been serving as volunteers. The second was the suspension of the ritual slaughter of animals ("Jews and Non-Jews in Nazi-Occupied Holland," 142). With the liberation of the South, this legis-

during the 1955 celebrations on the tenth anniversary of the Liberation, the Chief Rabbi of Amsterdam, Aaron Schuster, informed a distinguished audience which included Queen Juliana, Prince Bernhard, and other notables, that an anti-Semitic ideology had left its traces in the Netherlands, even in circles where it had previously been unthinkable.[69]

Rabbi Schuster's words did not fall on deaf ears, and subsequently government attitudes towards the Jewish minority took a quick turn for the better.[70] Nevertheless, by 1955, most of the issues directly associated with reconstruction, and in which the Jewish community needed the government's understanding and good will, were settled — not always in a spirit of generosity and respect for minority rights, and frequently leaving deep feelings of disappointment and bitterness.

VI

The mid-1950's and the 1960's are characterized by evolutionary

lation was abolished by a Royal Decree of 17 September 1944 (No. E93, *Staatsblad*). The first official *shechitah* after the war took place on 8 August 1945. Through new legislation in 1948 ritual slaughter underwent a new restriction, being permitted only for animals, "whose meat is intended for *consumption* (author's italics) by Jews" (No. I 48: BESLUIT van 9 Februari 1948 tot nadere wijziging van het Koninklijk besluit van 5 Juni 1920, *etc.*, *Staatsblad*). The last formulation limiting ritual slaughter according to need was also retained in revised legislation of 1957. Thus, the right to ritual slaughter was not restored to its prewar status. In 1950, "the government suggested that ritual slaughter should be kept to a minimum and that the Jewish community 'consider' the use of electrical stunning before slaughter" (Daniel L. Schorr, "The Netherlands," *American Jewish Year Book 5712* [1951–1952] (Philadelphia: J.P.S., 1951) LIII, 293).

69 "Herdenkingsdienst in Nieuw Kerk op Dam," *Algemeen Handelsblad* (Amsterdam), 6 May 1955. For Schuster's ideas on the responsibilities of the modern rabbi, see: Chief Rabbi A. Schuster, "Samkhutah shel ha-Rabbanut be-Zman ha-moderni" (The Authority of the Rabbinate in Modern Times), in Rabbi Maurice Rose (ed.), *The Reconstruction of European Jewish Life and the Conference of European Rabbis* (London, 1967), 28–32.

70 Interview with Rabbi A. Schuster, Jerusalem, 16 May 1974, Oral History Division, Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Jerusalem, Project 107, tape 14.

developments, some of which extend into the present.[71] Israel played an increasingly central role in the spread of spoken Hebrew and Israeli culture. The bond between the Dutch Jewish community and Israel was forged by the high rate of *aliyah* in the early postwar years. In consequence, most Dutch Jews have close friends or relatives in Israel. *Aliyah* continues, usually in family groups, but often motivated in individual cases by prospects of professional advancement. The tightening of a strong bond with Israel took place concurrently with processes of disintegration in Dutch Jewish life, particularly with the decline of the small communities of the countryside. The Israel option represented an attractive means for many parents to assure their children a Jewish life, and retirement to a warm climate appealed to those who hopefully planned to join their children. The intensity of this bond increased in March 1956 with the establishment of direct air links between the Netherlands and Israel. For the entire postwar generation, the founding of the State of Israel became a source of constant comfort and encouragement and references to its importance are frequently to be found both in public and private forms of expression.[72]

The present Ashkenazi community, organized in the *Nederlands Israëlietisch Kerkgenootschap*, has 14,000 registered members. It has 8,500 members in Amsterdam, 2,200 in The Hague, 700 in Rotterdam. Ten communities have between 100 and 250 members;

[71] For literature on this period, see: Henriëtte Boas, "Jewish Figures in Post-War Dutch Literature," *Jewish Journal of Sociology*, Vol. V, No. 1 (June 1963), 55–83; W. F. Klein and M. Kopuit, *De Joden in Nederland; Een beeld van hun leven na 1945* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1969); M. Snijders, *Joden in Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Bijzige Bij, 1958); S. Wijnberg, *De Joden in Amsterdam; een studie over varandering in hun attitudes* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1967).

[72] *E.g.*, Dr. J. Z. Baruch, "The Portuguese Israelitic Community":

> In 1948, the establishment of the State of Israel came as a solace to all Jews who had experienced the Holocaust. It was as if God had reconciled Himself with the Jewish People, as if He wanted to make clear that the ancient promise of return and restoration would come true: the State of Israel would rise from the ruins of European Jewry. The birth of the State of Israel has been a constant source of inspiration, hope and strength, to all Jews of this world.

thirty even smaller communities are spread over the country. (A trend has been noted of Jews moving to the suburbs of Amsterdam.) The Sephardim, organized in the *Portuguees Israëlietisch Gemeente*, have about 1,100 members (reflecting a slight increase in recent years) in one Amsterdam congregation. The Reform community, organized in the *Verbond van Liberaal-Religieuze Joden in Nederland*, has about 600 families in Amsterdam (some 1,200 to 1,300 persons), 200 families in The Hague, 30 to 40 families in Rotterdam, 30 to 40 families in Arnhem, and a small nucleus in Twente.[73]

Since 1972, the Jewish community has reached a zero and below zero population rate. A low level of fertility and an increase of mixed marriages make it impossible to hope for a reversal of this trend, if current conditions remain unchanged.[74] Of the marriages concluded by Jews from 1951 to 1962, 41% of the men and 36% of the women married Gentiles.[75] Reasons attributed are:

1) The geographic isolation of many small Jewish communities,
2) The disrupted age structure (resulting from the Holocaust and emigration), which obliges many to seek a partner outside the community,
3) Contacts established during the war years,
4) Weakened religious and ethnic commitment,
5) The influence of social and psychological factors, such as the desire for social mobility, estangement from the community, and escapism.[76]

Thus, a decline in Jewish fertility which began around the middle of the nineteenth century has continued — with the fatal accelera-

[73] J. S. Fishman, "The Netherlands," *American Jewish Year Book*, Vol. LXXVIII (1978) (in press), and, by the same author, "The Jewish Community in the Post-War Netherlands, 1944–1975," *Midstream*, Vol. XXII, No. 1 (January 1976), 42–54.

[74] "Demografische Ontwikkeling," 179, 180.

[75] *Ibid.*, 180.

[76] *Ibid.*, 181 (paraphrased).

tion of the Holocaust — to the effect that the replacement process is not assured.[77]

Religious and cultural activity went through a period of transition. The prestige of the orthodox consistorial organization temporarily waned, as many found that it did not answer their needs. Reform Judaism appealed to many who were dissatisfied with traditional forms. Whereas in the pre- and immediate postwar era, its character was largely influenced by German refugees, in the 'fifties, it assumed a particularly Dutch style under the active leadership of Rabbi Jacob Soetendorp.[78]

Since the end of the 'sixties, there has been a small but important relocation of religiously observant families from the countryside to Amsterdam and a growing interest in orthodoxy. Many young Jewish families have settled in the new suburb of Buitenveldert, the scene of a vital orthodox congregation under the leadership of Rabbi H. Rodrigues Pereira. Not far off, in the neighboring suburb of Amstelveen, a thriving little congregation, under the leadership of Rabbi I. Vorst, member of the *Chabad* movement, has attracted a loyal following both among the observant as well as many young middle-class and non-professional families who would not otherwise have found their place in the present orthodox community.

Although complete data on occupations of Dutch Jews are not available, some may be identified such as the traditional Dutch Jewish occupations in textiles, jewelry, cattle-trading, medicine, law, and careers for which advanced academic preparation is required. A new profession is the brokerage of industrial and pharmaceutical chemicals. In Amsterdam, chemicals provide much *kemaḥ* (support) for Torah, and this occupation is held by some of its wealthiest, and thus most influential, *parnassim* (trustees), of religious institutions.

Relations between the Jewish community and the government improved, reflecting perhaps a greater willingness to take into account the tragic circumstances which brought about a reduction

[77] *Ibid.*

[78] See J. Soetendorp, "De Liberaal Joodse Gemeente bestaat 25 jaar," *Levend Joods Geloof*, Jg. II (September 1956), 20–23.

of its size, the prosperity of the 'fifties and 'sixties, and the evolution of attitudes associated with the mentality of the welfare state (into which the Netherlands was gradually being transformed). These principles assert that society should devote special attention to the material and social needs of all of its members, particularly the weak. The Jewish community continued its own recovery. Collectively and individually, it could better protect its interests and make its influence felt within the agencies of the government, even through the legislative process. Moreover, a developing awareness, closely associated with the events of the recent past, may have forced a reexamination of the place of the Jewish people in the world: the Holocaust (its historical roots and the experience of the Occupation); the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls (1947); the founding of the State of Israel (1948); and recent contributions to New Testament scholarship — particularly in the understanding of rabbinical literature — which have emphasized Christianity's profound debt to Judaism.[79]

In the previous section, two types of relationships with the government were identified: those usually governed by legislation in force and those related to the reconstruction process (and for which there were no precedents). In the first category, relations continued smoothly, and a number of discussions, initiated during the first decade, came to fruition during this period. Arrangements were made with the Ministry of Justice to provide religious instruction and kosher food for Jewish prisoners; discussions with the Ministry of Defense resulted in the activities of Jewish chaplains being substantially expanded; and the Ministry of Education provided supplementary subsidies to the Jewish community's system of day schools, interpreting the existing legislation with understanding and generosity.[80]

[79] See: David Flusser, "New Christian Understanding of Judaism," *Orot: Journal of Hebrew Literature*, No. 14 (February 1973), 2–31, and Geza Vermes, "The Impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls on the Study of the New Testament," *Journal of Jewish Studies*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2 (Autumn 1976), 107–116.

[80] Archives of the Central Commission, classifications, II-C-2; II-C-4; and VII-d.

In problems relating to reconstruction, the government, the ministries of Foreign Affairs and Finance particularly, aided the community in making claims against the Federal German Republic for material restitution.[81] Most Dutch citizens were not eligible for benefits under the terms of the "*BEG*," (*Bundesentschädigungsgesetz*) which brought relief mainly to former German citizens, but for the "*BRüG*," (*Bundesrükerstattungsgesetz*), enacted in 1957, which provided for the restitution of identifiable property. Under its terms, compensation was ultimately provided in the 'sixties for the effects of more than 30,000 Dutch Jewish households (and for such other items as jewels).[82] The ministries of Foreign Affairs and Finance actively aided in the negotiations with Germany and provided cooperation in the preparation of claims, distribution of funds, and defraying of administrative costs.[83]

The Jewish community could also undertake the initiative in responding to its special needs, *e.g.*, those of war victims. Dr. J. Z. Baruch, then member of the Second Chamber of the Dutch Parliament and since 1967 Chairman of the Parnassim of the Sephardi Community,[84] in November 1971 proposed legislation (which came into force on 1 January 1973), making it possible for persons who were persecuted because of their race, belief, or world view (among whom were Jews, Witnesses, political opponents of the Nazis in the Netherlands, and whites in Indonesia), to receive an allowance from the state.[85] This law is known as the *Wet Uitkering Vervolgingsslachtoffers* (law for an allowance to persecution victims).[86] Furthermore, the rabbis of all the religious communities discovered

[81] "German Federal Compensation," 194–244.

[82] *Ibid.*, 229.

[83] *Ibid.*, 234–242.

[84] Dr. J. Z. Baruch, an orthodox Jew, on entering the Second Chamber in 1971, made the traditional vow wearing a skullcap.

[85] From 1947, there has been legislation which provided special allowances for resistance fighters who suffered disabilities incurred during the Occupation, but there was no similar provision for war victims, as such.

[86] On 14 February 1975, the Director General of the Ministry of Culture, Recreation, and Social Work declared that as of 1 July this law would extend its benefits to victims who were no longer Dutch nationals.

that the extensive pastoral care to this group made increasingly heavy demands on their time. As people grew older, they suffered more from the delayed psychological effects of their wartime experiences, such as crises of Jewish identity and accepting their travail.[87] Consequently, Rabbi Awraham Soetendorp, of the Reform community of The Hague, requested that within the framework of this legislation provision be made for the increased pastoral work which had become necessary. In turn, the government provided for a pastoral-social worker to be attached on an experimental basis to the Jewish social-work foundation, *Joods Maatschappelijk Werk*,[88] where all three religious communities participate together. As there is separation of church and state in the Netherlands, this solution makes it possible to respect the legal framework and at

[87] One of the implications of the Holocaust is the fact that its ever present painful memory often affects survivors' behavior. It manifests itself collectively and individually: in feelings of isolation, dread, and trauma. This phenomenon binds the wartime past with the present. Events that point to the rise of anti-Semitism or Jewish life being under threat have their impact. The 1952 Slansky Trial in Czechoslovakia precipitated a sharp rise in Jewish emigration. (Malcolm Rivkin, *Jews and Judaism in Post-War Amsterdam*, 33.) During Israel's wars, particularly in 1973, Dutch Jews felt isolated in their anguish. Such feelings may be termed as collective. On the individual plane, as the older generation looks back on the past, it is disturbed by memories of the war of internment in concentration camps, of confinement in hiding, and, with some, fear of betrayal. (See, for background: L. de Jong, "De Joodse Onderduik," *Het Koninkrijk*, Vol. VII, 461–481, and R. Schuursma, "Dutch Fascists' Share in Crime," *Wiener Library Bulletin*, Vol. XX, No. 2, New Series No. 3 [Spring 1966], 34–37.) Similarly, many individuals orphanned during the war are still under therapy, with many cases of severe disturbances. In this very personal way, the devastation of the Holocaust continues. See: J. Bastiaans, *Psychosomatische Gevolgen van Onderdrukking en Verzet* (Amsterdam: North Holland, 1957), and J. Kater, "Gevolgen van Onderduiken," *Algemeen Handelsblad* (8 May 1965), supplement, 78.

[88] For some literature on Jewish social work in the Netherlands, see: A. Büchenbacher, "Unificatie in het Joodse sociale werk," *Tijdschrift voor Maatschappelijk Werk*, Jg. V, No. 6 (20 March 1951), 86–87; I. van Creveld, "Joods maatschappelijk werk voorheen en thans," *T.M.W.*, Jg. VIII, No. 2 (25 January 1954), 17–20; and Ph. A. Sondervan, "Het Joods Maatschappelijk Werk in Nederland," *T.M.W.*, Jg. VIII, No. 5 (5 March 1954), 70–72.

the same time fulfil the community's special need. In cooperation with Gentile organizations carrying out similar work, *Joods Maatschappelijk Werk* advises the state secretary for Public Health and Milieu Hygiene on the care of war victims in its broadest sense. It is possible to recognize, particularly in the implementation of this legislation, a spirit of good will and openness to arguments deriving from historical events which was absent in the doctrine: "Jews are Dutchmen like all other Dutchmen," of the earlier period, and the manner in which it was applied.

Another phenomenon related to the postwar history of the Dutch Jewish community is the presence of Israeli Jews. There is a fluctuating Israeli population in Amsterdam, estimated between 1,000 and 5,000. They include businessmen, working independently or representing Israeli firms, petty restauranteurs, students (about 150) — of varying degrees of commitment to their studies, drifters, the spouses of Dutchmen and women (with many non-Jewish partners), and criminals.[89] Israeli culture, with its frequently contemptuous attitudes for the Jews of the Diaspora (in many cases reflecting negative stereotypes imparted by the Israeli educational system and often resulting in identification with the Gentile majority), hardly prepares them for any positive contact with the local community. Perhaps one day Israelis will chose to associate with the community, and in a small population, such as that of Dutch Jewry, their presence could be of considerable influence. Little is known about the migration of Israelis to Western Europe, but along with Jews from North Africa and the Soviet Union, such population movements could signal the Jewish repopulation of this area.

The following points emerge from this study:

1) Despite its bitter struggles for civil and material reinstatement, despite its small numbers, the high intermarriage rate, and the attraction of emigrating elsewhere, the Jewish community in the Netherlands has shown a stubborn determination to survive.

[89] J. S. Fishman, "The Netherlands".

2) The reconstruction of the Dutch Jewish community is among those of several in Western Europe which also made recoveries. The Catastrophe notwithstanding, organized Jewish communal life in Europe has continued.
3. The experience of the Dutch Jewish community and its trials, particularly in the early postwar era, challenges the conventional view of the high level of respect for the status of minorities in the Netherlands.
4. The birth of the State of Israel has been a crucial source of inspiration and encouragement to Dutch Jewry. Spiritual, cultural, and family bonds have made Israel a significant and positive part of Dutch Jewish life.

VII

The study of the postwar reconstruction of a Western European Jewish community, such as that of the Netherlands, has significant methodological and historiographical implications.

First, the question may be asked: is it too early to write about such subjects? It is noteworthy, for example, that the English historian, D. C. Watt, recently published an enumeration of topics which he considered appropriate for the contemporary historian: among them, the Suez crisis, the decline of Imperial Europe and the growth of nationalism, decolonization and anti-colonialism, and even the colonialist contribution to decolonization and local nationalism.[90] During recent decades, rules of increased disclosure have made it possible to examine official documents hitherto inaccessible and to study subjects which would have been closed to scholars of other generations. A similar situation prevails with regard to the study of recent Jewish life. The favorable conditions of access to sources for contemporary Jewish subjects must not be neglected.

Second, there are advantages to writing history soon after the events. More sources may be available, and with the passage of

[90] D. C. Watt, "Twentieth-century History," in Martin Ballard (ed.), *New Developments in the Study and Teaching of History* (London: Temple Smith, 1971), 73.

time, the world's fund of documents for any given subject does not increase.[91] The Jewish historian in particular should hasten to collect available information before it is lost and to create new documents by taking testimony before his informants pass on. We must also bear in mind that habits of modern life have changed in a manner which tends to reduce the creation of new documents.[92] Hence, the need for oral history. If the historian wishes to write about the problems of his times, he too must adapt his methods.

Third, the processes of collecting information and the writing of a narrative optimally should not be dissociated. Only by writing is it possible to know what documents are lacking. By publishing, a service is done: new knowledge is created, fresh replies evoked, and new sources brought to light.[93]

Historiographically, the major point of this study has been to show the continuity of Jewish life in Europe, despite the Holocaust. We must not lose sight of this central fact, because it appears that few historical systems have a place for the legitimate existence of these restored communities in their frameworks.

A Christian religious leader associated with one of Holland's great universities informed the author that there were but three options open for Dutch Jewry: *aliyah*; assimilation and eventual conversion to Christianity; or continuing as orthodox Jews, living in anticipation of an inevitable future holocaust. Were it not for the State of Israel, only the second and third options would be open. One may also note that the very formulation of the limited choice of remaining in the Netherlands and becoming future victim would, *per se*, imply a good measure of Jewish guilt and complicity.

Similarly, Israel-centered historiography has not evolved to the

[91] Ch. V. Langlois and Ch. Siegnobos, *Introduction to the Study of History* (tr. G. G. Berry, New York: Holt and Company, 1898), 316.

[92] Allan Nevens as quoted in: Columbia University, *The Oral History Collection* (New York: Columbia University, 1964), 9, 10.

[93] The author acknowledges Dr. N. K. C. A. in 't Veld of the Netherlands State Institute for War Documentation for sharing his thoughts with him on this last point.

extent that it is prepared seriously to cope with the history of the Jewish communities in Europe after 1948. It expresses an ambivalence toward the Diaspora and perhaps a "structural" bias against the Jewish communities of Western Europe (as well as those of North America). The tendency is to devote scant attention to the postwar era, except where it may relate to the birth of the State of Israel. In fairness, it must be added that in the wake of the Yom Kippur War there has been a conscious effort to seek a more balanced orientation. Similarly, many Jewish scholars, particularly in North America, as they relate to the European experience in the twentieth century, focus strongly on the Holocaust. They have shown deep interest in its heroism, metaphysics, press, poetry, music, and graphic arts. However, most, as it appears from their writings, accept the view that European Jewry after 1945 has ceased to count in Jewish history.

While it is necessary to honor the memory of the martyrs and to remember the vicious deeds of those who by their sins of commission and omission brought about their slaughter, we must not — historiographically — allow the survivors to be buried alive. The Holocaust must not be regarded as the logical development of an historically deterministic view, be it Christian, Israel-centered, or one restricted by the custodians of Holocaust culture, with their vested interests. It is the responsibility of the historian of contemporary Jewry, writing in good faith, to bring European Jewish history beyond Auschwitz. Only by gathering sources and writing this history will justice be done to the historical reality of rededication and reconstruction, processes which for ages have been at the roots of all Jewish life.

THE DESTRUCTION OF HEBREW BOOKS IN VENICE, 1568

By Paul F. Grendler

The Hebrew press of Venice enormously enriched Jewish learning and religious life in the sixteenth century. The Hebrew printers did not achieve their goals easily, however, for the Venetian government twice destroyed large quantities of Hebrew books. Scholars are aware of the burning of the Talmud in 1553, but perhaps do not know that the Venetian government again confiscated and burned thousands of Hebrew books in 1568. This article will describe the events of 1568, and how the Hebrew publishers then thwarted Venetian restrictions through smuggling in the early 1570s.[1]

The Venetian Hebrew press probably led Europe both in the quantity and the significance of its publications. Daniel Bomberg (c. 1483–1553), a Christian from Antwerp with great sympathy for Jewish learning, was the key figure.[2] From its establishment in 1516, his press issued as many as two hundred printings, including the complete Talmud between 1519 and 1523, a landmark of Hebrew publishing. When Bomberg slowed his pace and ceased to publish in 1549, others partially took his place. Two presses carrying patrician names dominated Hebrew printing at mid-

[1] This article identifies the Hebrew titles involved and offers an expanded account of an incident described briefly in Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press, 1540–1605* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 141–45. I am especially grateful to Professor Frank Talmage of the Department of Near Eastern Studies of the University of Toronto; without his help in identifying Hebrew titles, this article would not have been possible. Fellowships from the American Council of Learned Societies and the Canada Council assisted the research.

[2] Alfredo Cioni, "Daniel Bomberg," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Vol. 11 (Rome, 1969), pp. 382–87.

century: that of Marc'Antonio Giustiniani, who published about eighty-five titles between 1545 and 1553, and Alvise Bragadino who printed about fifteen titles between 1550 and 1553. Giovanni de' Farri e fratelli, Francesco Brucioli, and Me'ir Parenzo, who printed at least ten titles between 1545 and 1552, joined them.[3]

The Venetian Republic demonstrated no more sympathy for the Jews than other Italian states. It distinguished between Levantine Jews, who had for some time lived and enjoyed trading privileges in the maritime empire, and German or local Jews, many of whom had come from other Italian cities. The fugitives from Iberian persecution (called Ponentine or Western Jews) comprised a third group; these most often suffered from Venetian hostility toward Jews. In 1516, the Venetian government enclosed Jews living in the city into a ghetto, and forced them to pay large sums of money for the permission (*condotta*) to remain in Venice for a specified term of years.[4] Hostility toward the Jews mounted in the 1540s. The government did little to punish the perpetrators of anti-Jewish riots on the mainland; it came close to expelling Marranos in 1550, and tightened the fiscal pressure on the local community.[5]

The Venetian patricians viewed the Hebrew press in the same way that they did the Jews as a whole: with suspicion tempered by grudging toleration in exchange for financial compensation. When in October 1525 Bomberg offered 100 ducats for an extension of his permission to print Hebrew books, the Senate refused

[3] David W. Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy. Being Chapters in the History of the Hebrew Printing Press* (Philadelphia, 1909; rpt. London, 1963), pp. 146–224; Joshua Bloch, "Venetian Printers of Hebrew Books," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 36 (1932), pp. 71–92; Cecil Roth, *History of the Jews in Venice* (Philadelphia, 1930), pp. 245–55; and *The History of the Jews in Italy* (Philadelphia, 1946), pp. 225–26; Horatio F. Brown, *The Venetian Printing Press 1469–1800. An historical study based upon documents for the most part hitherto unpublished* (London, 1891; rpt. Amsterdam, 1969), pp. 105–06.

[4] Frederic C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore and London, 1973), pp. 300–04; Roth, *Jews in Venice*, pp. 1–71, 105–211.

[5] Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice. The Social Institutions of a Catholic State, to 1620* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), pp. 510–37.

him on the ground that his publications attacked the Catholic faith. A few months later it accepted his offer of 500 ducats.[6] Similarly, on December 19, 1548, the Republic forbade the Jews to print or publish; but a number of Jews worked as typesetters, proofreaders, and possibly in other capacities.[7] It is likely that the government overlooked violations because it realized that the Hebrew press could not function without Jewish participation.

The papacy became worried about the danger to the faith of Hebrew books, and in November 1548 directed Nuncio Giovanni Della Casa to obtain the expurgation of Venetian Hebrew publications. He readily obtained the consent of Marc'Antonio Giustiniani, but Bomberg objected and argued that no changes could be made in ancient manuscripts. Lacking the advice of Christian experts in Hebrew, Della Casa took no action.[8] The pressure mounted: in December 1550, Cardinal Girolamo Verallo complained vigorously to the Venetian ambassador in Rome that a press run of over 800 copies of the Talmud was more than half finished, and that many other Hebrew books "of the greatest perniciousness" to Christianity were being printed in Venice.[9] Nevertheless, the Giustiniani press completed its publication of the multivolumed Babylonian Talmud in 1551.

The complaints document growing papal hostility to Hebrew books, but they did not yet produce action. The Venetian har-

[6] Cioni, "Bomberg," p. 385.

[7] Pullan, *Rich and Poor*, p. 521; Amram, *Makers of Hebrew Books*, p. 253. Benjamin Ravid's forthcoming article on the Venetian Hebrew press also lists several Jews. I am indebted to him for allowing me to consult his work.

[8] Correspondence between Della Casa and Rome from November 24, 1548, through February 23, 1549, as quoted in Lorenzo Campana, "Monsignor Giovanni della Casa e i suoi tempi," *Studi storici*, vol. 17 (1908), pp. 269–71.

[9] Letter of Ambassador Matteo Dandolo, December 26, 1550, Rome, in Archivio di Stato, Venice (hereafter ASV), Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci, Lettere di Ambasciatori a Roma, Busta 23, no. 159. Pio Paschini, *Venezia e l'inquisizione romana da Giulio III a Pio IV* (Padua, 1959), pp. 65–66, quotes the letter but misdates it as December 16. Verallo (d. 1555), a veteran papal diplomat, Vatican official, and member of the Congregation of the Holy Office in 1553, appears to have been a zealot.

bored the same fears. In February 1551, the *Collegio* (the doge in concert with his cabinet) ordered the *Esecutori contro la bestemmia* (the civil tribunal charged with punishing blasphemy, moral offenses, and violations of the civil press laws) to examine the Talmud. Having heard that the Talmud is filled with blasphemy and slander against our Lord, the decree read, the Collegio instructed the Esecutori to arrange for Christian experts to note those passages, and to report back to the Collegio.[10]

The attack came as the immediate result of a bitter dispute between the Giustiniani and Bragadino presses over rival editions of a title. Translated to Rome, the denunciations and charges transformed religious fears into destructive action.[11] A papal order of August 12, 1553, condemned the Talmud and similar books to be burned. Executed in Rome, the Congregation of the Holy Office ordered the same throughout Italy on September 12. The Venetians willingly followed suit. On October 18, having heard from the report of the Esecutori contro la bestemmia that the Talmud was filled with blasphemies against God, Jesus, and Mary, the Council of Ten (the supreme disciplinary organ to which the Esecutori were accountable) acted. It ordered the Esecutori to burn all copies of the Talmud collected to date, and authorized them to search in the ghetto and elsewhere, in the houses of Jews, Christians, and bookmen, for others. Originally scheduled for Thursday, October 19, the fire was postponed until the Sabbath, Saturday, October 21. On that morning, "a good fire" (in the nuncio's words) burned in Piazza San Marco. In the next few months the Talmud and other works were burned as far away as Crete in the Venetian Dominion, while across Italy possibly hundreds of thousands of books were burned.[12] The Venetian government burned the Tal-

[10] ASV, Collegio, Notatorio, Registro 27, f. 138*v* (February 23, 1550, Venetian style, actually 1551). The vote was 20 yes, 1 no.

[11] Amram, *Makers of Hebrew Books,* pp. 252–76; Kenneth R. Stow, "The Burning of the Talmud in 1553, in the Light of Sixteenth Century Catholic Attitudes toward the Talmud," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance,* 34 (1972), pp. 435–59.

[12] ASV, Consiglio dei Dieci, Registro 21, ff. 58*v*–59*r*. The votes on three

mud before all other parts of the papal state complied with Rome's order.[13]

The Venetians needed little papal exhortation to join in burning the Talmud. According to the nuncio, no one spoke against the decree. Jewish spiritual and financial distress failed to sway the government; it also rejected the pleas of the two patrician Hebrew publishers. Giustiniani worked behind the scenes to halt the destruction of Hebrew books, and then to prevent the confiscation of his recently printed Talmud. When it was apparent that the Republic would proceed, he appealed to the papacy for financial compensation. He received nothing. The government seized the Giustiniani imprints and, presumably, the Bragadino works as well. Giustiniani's son reported many years later that his father lost 24,000 ducats' worth of books in 1553.[14]

decrees ordering confiscation and destruction were 19 yes, 0 no; 26 yes, 0 no, 2 abstentions; and 26 yes, 0 no. The general decree of October 21 is published in Giovanni Sforza, "Riflessi della Controriforma nella Repubblica di Venezia," *Archivio storico italiano*, 93 (1935), part 2, pp. 44–45; and C. Castellani, "Documenti circa la persecuzione dei libri ebraici a Venezia," *La Bibliofilia*, 7 (1905–06), pp. 304–07, with documents relating to Crete as well. See the letters of Nuncio Ludovico Beccadelli of August 19, 26, September 23, October 14, 21, 1553, Venice, in *Nunziature di Venezia*, Vol. 6, ed. Franco Gaeta. Istituto Storico per l'età moderna e contemporanea. *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, no. 86 (Rome, 1967), pp. 255, 258, 267, 274–75, 277 (quote). Some of this correspondence is in Paschini, *L'inquisizione*, pp. 108–111. Also see Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, trans. Ralph Francis Kerr, Vol. 13 (London and St. Louis, 1924), pp. 214–15; Roth, *Jews in Venice*, pp. 255–59; Roth, *Jews in Italy*, pp. 290–93; William Popper, *The Censorship of Hebrew Books* (New York, 1899), pp. 29–37; Salo Wittmayer Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*. 2nd ed. rev. Vol. 14: *Catholic Restoration and Wars of Religion* (New York, London, and Philadelphia, 1969), pp. 29–31, 127–28, 141–42, 317, 353–54, 357–58.

[13] See the letter of Girolamo Muzio to Fra Michele Ghislieri (the future Pius V) of December 16, 1553, Pesaro, in which he reported that the Talmud had been burned on December 9 in the Dukedom of Urbino, while in nearby Ancona no action had yet been taken. Girolamo Muzio, *Lettere catholiche del Mutio Iustinopolitano* (Venice: Gio. Andrea Valvassori, 1571), pp. 185–86.

[14] Letters of Nuncio Beccadelli of August 26, September 23, October 14, 21, 1553, Venice, in *Nunziature di Venezia*, vol. 6, pp. 258, 267, 274–75, 277;

Pope Julius III, in response to Jewish pleas, issued modifying decrees on May 29 and December 18, 1554, permitting Hebrew books to be held after having been censored.[15] But Hebrew publishing did not resume in Venice. It moved to Cremona, Ferrara, Mantua, Sabbioneta, and Riva di Trento, sometimes flourishing in these north Italian cities through the dark days of the pontificate of Paul IV (1555–1559). Cristoforo Madruzzo (1512–1578), the prince and cardinal of Trent, founded and supported a Hebrew press at Riva di Trento, about fifty kilometers southwest of Trent, that lasted from 1558 through 1562.[16]

The Republic did not forbid the publication of Hebrew books; it only insisted on expurgation. In July 1559, the Esecutori followed the papal lead and ruled that Hebrew books, with the exception of the Talmud and its commentaries, might be published after expurgation.[17] The Esecutori appointed two experts in Hebrew, Father Tommaso da Urbino, a Dominican of strict observance, and Felice da Tolentino, a converted Jew, to expurgate titles according to the papal booklet of corrections prepared by Father Jacopo Giraldino (or Geraldino).[18] Hebrew titles still held

ASV, Santo Uffizio, Busta 37, Antonio Giustiniani, no pag., his testimony of November 4, 1574. Antonio may have exaggerated, for his father in 1553 estimated that before the fire the cost of paper and printing of the confiscated books was 3,000 ducats. (*Nunziature di Venezia*, vol. 6, p. 275, letter of October 14, 1553.) On the other hand, calculating the loss from the retail price would raise the figure to at least 6,000 ducats. Additional books may have been confiscated after October 1553.

[15] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 13, p. 215; Roth, *Jews in Venice*, pp. 259–60.

[16] Amram, *Makers of Hebrew Books*, pp. 277–337. Madruzzo was a patron of arts and letters, generous host to the Council of Trent, and a statesman who successfully balanced his allegiances to emperor and pope; see the brief remarks of Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, trans. Ernest Graf, Vol. 1 (London, 1957), pp. 566–74. One would like to know why he established a Hebrew press.

[17] The Esecutori specifically referred to edicts of Julius III of May 29, 1554, and of Paul IV of March 26, 1555.

[18] Giraldino, with the title of Apostolic Commissioner, was in charge of Hebrew book censorship in the papal state. Obviously his influence extended beyond it as well. Popper, *Censorship of Hebrew Books*, pp. 40–41, 135–36.

by the Esecutori, as a result of the confiscations of October 1553, were to be returned to their owners after correction. But the Esecutori threatened the punishments decreed by the Council of Ten in 1553 — fines, imprisonment, and the galleys — for those who printed or held unexpurgated Hebrew books.[19]

In the early 1560s the Esecutori continued to exercise keen vigilance over Hebrew books. In 1561 the court discovered several bales of books lacking the proper corrections at the Bomberg press (now led by Giovanni di Gara, sometimes called the "heir of Bomberg") and in the hands of various booksellers. These volumes had to be imports or older Venetian imprints. The Esecutori ordered the titles expurgated but levied no penalties.[20]

The Venetian Jews and their publishers probably felt that this vigilance manifested a continuing hostility toward Hebrew books that made the resumption of printing very risky. Needing a clear signal of a change of attitude, they watched anxiously to see if the Church would give it at the Council of Trent. The council's commission drafting the Index of Prohibited Books discussed the Talmud in 1562 and 1563 without reaching a decision. This heartened the Jews, because they expected kinder treatment from Pius IV than from anyone else. They were not disappointed, for his Index of 1564 (usually called the Tridentine Index) softened the previous condemnation in order to permit the Talmud with its commentaries and glosses so long as they were expurgated and printed without the explicit title "Talmud."[21] Perhaps this was

[19] ASV, Esecutori contro la bestemmia, Busta 56, Notatorio Terminazioni, Registro 1542–1560, ff. 161*v*–164*r*, July 24, 1559.

[20] ASV, Esecutori contro la bestemmia, Busta 56, Notatorio Terminazioni, Registro 1561–1582, ff. 4*v*–5*r*, September 25, 1561. A number of surviving copies of Venetian Hebrew works printed beween 1564 and 1568 have been expurgated by means of blank spaces and passages inked out. This censorship may have been the result of the action of 1568. See below. Popper, *Censorship of Hebrew Books*, p. 54; Amram, *Makers of Hebrew Books*, p. 257; Meir Benayahu, *Haskamah u-reshut bi-defuse Venetsiah* (*Copyright, Authorization and Imprimatur for Hebrew Books Printed in Venice*) (Jerusalem, 1971), pp. 198–207. I thank Joseph Shatzmiller for reading this book for me.

[21] Salo Wittmayer Baron, "The Council of Trent and Rabbinic Literature,"

the assurance that the Venetian Jews sought. In 1564 and 1565, Alvise Bragadino, Me'ir ben Jacob Parenzo, and four newcomers — Zorzi de' Cavalli, Giovanni di Gara, Giovanni Griffio, and Cristoforo Zanetti — began to publish Hebrew books; each of the six published up to fourteen imprints through 1568.[22]

But the times did not favor the Jews in Venice or elsewhere in Italy, for Pius V (1566–1572) gave an example of persecution for the entire peninsula. The Venetians had additional reasons, which focused on Don Joseph Nasi (João Miquez). A wealthy merchant from Portugal, Nasi in 1550 asked the Republic to sell him an island that he might turn into a haven for Jewish refugees. Not only did the Venetians rebuff him, but the Council of Ten in 1553 instigated kidnapping charges against Nasi and his associates for what apparently was the rescue of his aunt from a Venetian prison.[23] Sentenced *in absentia* to hanging, Nasi made his way to the Turkish court in 1554 where he soon became the leading financier and tax farmer for the sultan. Now very anti-Venetian, Nasi organized a commercial network for East-West trade in direct competition with the Republic. In the late 1560s, the Venetians believed that he wished to become King of Cyprus and, when the Turkish invasion came in 1571, held him responsible.[24]

A series of incidents in the last years of the 1560s convinced

in his *Ancient and Medieval Jewish History*. Edited with a Forword by Leon A. Feldman (New Brunswick, N. J., 1972), pp. 353–71, 555–64; Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, vol. 14, pp. 19–23, 310–313.

[22] *Short-title Catalogue of Books printed in Italy and of Italian Books printed in other countries from 1465 to 1600 now in the British Museum* [hereafter *STC Italian*] (London, 1958), pp. 796, 806, 830–32, 856, 906–07, 985. Of course, the surviving copies in the British Museum should be viewed as an extensive sampling rather than a complete list of the titles published.

[23] Constance H. Rose, "New Information on the Life of Joseph Nasi, Duke of Naxos: The Venetian Phase," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 60 (1969–70), pp. 330–44. The lady rescued was his cousin, not his aunt, according to P. Grunebaum-Ballin, *Joseph Naci, duc de Naxos* (Paris, 1968), p. 52, a work unavailable to me. I thank Benjamin Ravid for this information.

[24] Lane, *Venice*, pp. 301–02; Samuele Romanin, *Storia documentata di Venezia*. 3rd ed. Vol. 6 (Venice, 1974), pp. 189–92.

many Venetians that local Jews were Turkish agents attempting to sabotage the Republic from within. In 1567 the government intercepted coded Hebrew letters (which may have been counterfeit) giving the details of a joint plot by Jews in Constantinople and Venice to bribe a Venetian ambassador extraordinary.[25] When in April 1568 a fire in Constantinople endangered the life of the *bailo* (the Republic's resident ambassador and governor of the Venetian colony there), the Venetians again held the Jews responsible.[26]

At the peak of public hostility toward the Jews, the Esecutori fell upon the Hebrew press anew. In a series of decisions of September 22 and 24, 1568, it ordered the destruction or correction of thousands of copies of recent publications and fined those held responsible.[27] The tribunal began by noting that various Jews of the city, both "foreigners" and "Levantines," had published Hebrew books "almost all incorrect and unexpurgated." They had done this without a governmental imprimatur (permission to print, granted by the Heads of the Council of Ten) and in contravention of the decree of the Esecutori of July 24, 1559. These books had violated the instructions for expurgation drafted by Jacopo Giraldino and Don Agusto Felice.[28] The tribunal further noted that two local priests, experts in Hebrew, Fra Marco[29] and Fra Paulo

[25] See the letters of Nuncio Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti of July 19, August 16, October 18, 1567, May 22, 1568, Venice, in *Nunziature di Venezia*, Vol. 8, ed. Aldo Stella. Istituto Storico per l'età moderna e contemporanea, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, no. 65 (Rome, 1963), pp. 251, 260–61, 290, 388.

[26] Letter of Facchinetti of April 10, 1568, Venice, in *Nunziature di Venezia*, vol. 8, p. 372.

[27] ASV, Esecutori contro la bestemmia, Busta 56, Notatorio Terminazioni, Registro 1561–1582, ff. 41bis*r*–47*v*, September 22, 24, 27, October 29, 1568. Unfortunately, only the *terminazioni* (sentences), and not the transcripts of the trials or reports of investigations, survive.

[28] Unidentified.

[29] More than likely this is Fra Marco Marini da Brescia, Hebraist and biblical scholar. Both he and Fra Paulo appear on lists (c. 1571) of clerical experts who assisted the Venetian Holy Office in enforcing the Index of Prohibited Books. One of these lists includes two experts "per la lingua hebraica"; they are "Don Marco da Brescia" and "Don Paulo da Venetia," both from

of the Augustinian monastery of San Salvatore, had confirmed that the Hebrew titles had not been expurgated. "Recognizing that the perfidy of many Jews is such that they seek with diverse means to subvert our true and holy Christian faith, and in order to castigate those who have committed these errors and to frighten others," the tribunal had decided to punish the guilty.

The Esecutori found fault with a substantial number of the titles printed since the revival of Hebrew publishing in 1564. The court levied heavy fines on the Venetian Jews who had sponsored publication of the offending works, imposed lesser fines on the publishers and printers, and decreed various dispositions for the books.

The Esecutori began by fining one "Rabi Juda overo Leone" 500 ducats for sponsoring the printing by Zorzi de' Cavalli of 800 copies each of three titles:[30]

> "Rabot" — probably *Midrash Rabba*, commentary on the Pentateuch and M^{e}ghilloth. (Venice: Zorzi de' Cavalli, 1566), folio.[31]

the monastery of San Salvatore. I have been unable to identify further the latter. ASV, Santo Uffizio, Busta 30, Andrea Arrivabene, loose documents, one of them dated December 1, 1571, appended to the trial of Arrivabene. I am grateful to Joanna Weinberg who first suggested that Fra Marco might be Marini.

[30] The documents provide only a one- or two-word title, but they do include the name of the publisher. This is usually enough information to identify title and printing. I do not read Hebrew, not an insurmountable handicap because the secretary recording the decisions did not either. As the Esecutor rendered judgment on various titles, he wrote down in Italian, often with Venetian orthography, a phonetic equivalent of the Hebrew word. (He probably consulted one of the Christian Hebrew experts when in doubt.) For the identifications below I matched the titles as given in the documents with the Hebrew phonetic equivalents found in the *STC Italian*. I identified about three-quarters of this group of titles in this way, and Professor Frank Talmage, who combines expertise in medieval Hebrew literature with a knowledge of Italian, helped me with the rest. Throughout this article I follow *STC Italian* form for Hebrew transliteration of the titles in the booklists.

[31] For the identification, see *STC Italian*, p. 437, item 11 on the page.

"Bacagiai" also described as "Menandes" — probably Bahye (or Bachye) ben Asher (or Moses ben Nahman, pseud.), *Be'ur 'al ha-Torah* (Venice: Zorzi de' Cavalli, 1566), folio.[32]

"Zarozamoth" — probably Abraham Saba, *Ṣe'ror Ha-Mor* (Venice: Zorzi de' Cavalli, 1567), folio.[33]

The Esecutori ordered these 2,400 volumes burned in Piazza San Marco.

The tribunal next fined Moise Salati of Venice 500 ducats for sponsoring the printing by Giovanni di Gara of 1,000 copies of "bibie... in foglio real con comenti hebrei et caldei in quatro volumi"; the Esecutori especially noted that the third and fourth volumes contained "molte pravità." This was probably Gara's 1568 printing of the rabbinical Bible first published by Bomberg in 1517:

Old Testament (Hebrew) with Aramaic (Chaldean) versions and the commentaries of Rashi, Abraham Ibn Ezra, David Kimhi et al. 4 vols. (Venice: Giovanni di Gara, 1568), folio.[34]

The Esecutori ordered Salati to ship the 4,000 volumes to the Levant within three months, presumably after expurgation. Salati returned on October 29 to plead that he could neither pay the fine nor ship the books to the Levant. Relenting, the Esecutori permitted him to sell the books outside the Venetian state, i.e., elsewhere in Italy or in northern Europe.[35]

The Esecutori fined Benetto Bora da Padua 200 ducats for sponsoring the publication of 1,000 copies each of two titles:

"Opere del forni in latino" published by (Giovanni) "Griffio." Possibly this was the Latin translation of *Or 'Ammim* (*Light*

[32] *STC Italian*, p. 67, item 22.

[33] *STC Italian*, p. 594, last item.

[34] *STC Italian*, p. 94, item 19.

[35] ASV, Esecutori contro la bestemmia, Busta 56, Notatorio Terminazioni, Registro 1561–1582, ff. 47*v*–48*r*. Salati probably lacked a Venetian license for Levantine commerce.

of Nations, an anti-Aristotelian work) of Obadiah ben Jacob Sforno (1475–1550). Apparently Sforno made the translation and dispatched it to Henry II of France (reigned 1547–1559), but little is known about the edition.[36]

"Ciscioni" or "Cisconi" published by Giovanni di Gara. Possibly R' Menahem ben R' Meir, *Ṣiyoni*, a Cabbalistic commentary on the Pentateuch, but a Gara printing has not been located.[37]

The Esecutori ordered Bora to ship the "Ciscioni" to the Levant, but when he pleaded that he was barred from the Levantine trade because he was a Jew, they permitted him to sell the books in Poland and Germany. The documents provide no information on the disposition of the thousand copies of Sforno's work.

The tribunal found fault with six titles published by Giovanni Griffio:

"orazechel" — probably *Or ha-Sekhel*, Midrash Rabbah on Genesis, with commentary attributed to Rashi, and issued with *Ma'adamei Melekh* by Abraham ben Gedaliah Ben Asher. (Venice: Giovanni Griffio, 1567), folio.[38] The Esecutori ordered the 1,000 copies seized to be burned.

The other four titles were parts of a joint work:

"Orachini" — probably *Orah hayyim*, which was part I of Jacob ben Asher, *Arba'ah Turim*. 4 vols. (Venice: Giovanni Griffio, 1566), folio.[40]

"Ioredea del Caro" — probably *Yoreh De'ah*, part II of *Arba'ah Turim*, which included the commentary *Beth Yoseph* of Joseph ben Ephraim Caro. Gedelia da Genoa Ceroicho,

[36] Salo Wittmayer Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, 2nd ed. rev. Vol. 13: *Inquisition, Renaissance, and Reformation* (New York, London, and Philadelphia, 1969), pp. 193, 410.

[37] See *STC Italian*, p. 433, item 15, for a printing in Cremona, 1560.

[38] *STC Italian*, p. 437, item 12.

[39] *STC Italian*, p. 431, item 15.

[40] *STC Italian*, p. 344, item 12.

who had sponsored the publication of this title, was fined 200 ducats.

"Ehem" also described as "Laenaser" — probably *Eben Haezer*, part III of *Arbaʿah Turim*.

"Copemispat" — probably *Hoshen Mishpat*, part IV of *Arbaʿah Turim*.

The Esecutori seized 800 copies each of parts I, II, and IV, ordering them to be corrected. Part III was to be burned, but the quantity is unknown.

The Esecutori ordered three liturgical titles published by Zorzi de' Cavalli burned:

"abudaram" — possibly David ben Joseph Abudirham, *Abudirham* (Venice: Zorzi de' Cavalli, 1566), 4°.[41] One bale — an unknown quantity — was ordered burned.

"Colho" — probably *Kol-bo* (Venice: Zorzi de' Cavalli, 1567), folio.[42] One bale was to be burned.

"Machazorci" — probably *Mahazor*, festival prayers (Venice: Zorzi de' Cavalli, 1567), folio.[43] Six bales were ordered burned.

The Esecutori seized another liturgical title published by Giovanni di Gara:

"Sedurini spagnolo" — probably *Mahazor Sᵉphardim mi-Yamim Noraʿim*, Spanish rite festival prayers for the New Year and the Day of Atonement (Venice: Giovanni di Gara, 1567), 16°.[44]

The Esecutori retained custody of 3,000 copies; their final disposition is unknown.

The Esecutori fined the publisher Cristoforo Zanetti for printing

41 *STC Italian*, p. 3, item 29.
42 *STC Italian*, p. 365, item 23.
43 *STC Italian*, p. 354, item 13.
44 *STC Italian*, p. 355, item 22.

600 copies of "Rashi," i.e., Solomon ben Isaac of Troyes (1040–1105), called Rashi. There is a likely possibility:

Perush Rashi ʿal Ha-Torah, commentary on the Pentateuch and Five Megilloth (Venice: Cristoforo Zanetti, 1566), 4°.[45] The fate of the books is unknown.

Finally, the Esecutori dealt with two editions of the *Hummash*:

"Comas" or "Comas cum targotti" — *Hummash* (Pentateuch) with *Targum Onkelos* (Venice: Giovanni di Gara, 1567), folio.[46] The court seized 1,500 copies whose disposition is unknown.

——. The Esecutori ordered 4,000 copies of an edition published by Cristoforo Zanetti (not identified) exported to the Levant.

In addition to the heavy penalties imposed on Rabbi Juda, Moise Salati, Benetto Bora, and Gedelia Ceroicho, the Esecutori levied fines of 5 to 100 ducats on other Jews for lesser involvement in the publication and export of Hebrew books.[47] Holding the printers guilty to a lesser degree, the Esecutori fined Cavalli, Gara, and Griffio 100 ducats each, Cristoforo Zanetti and Nicolò Bevilacqua (who had printed 3,500 copies of the *Mahazor Sephardim* probably for Gara, and 3,000 copies of the *Hummash* for either Gara or Zanetti) 50 ducats each.[48] In all, the court fined the

[45] *STC Italian*, p. 633, item 9.

[46] *STC Italian*, p. 95, items 8 and 20.

[47] The Esecutori fined Cecuo di Solomon da Mestre 100 ducats, and Isach Sacu levantino, Abraham Galico levantino, Rabbi Admai levantino, and Josef Angulaci and Indo Levi (jointly) 50 ducats each. The Esecutori fined Gedelia another 50 ducats for bringing in books from Cremona, Jacob di Rizzo 50 ducats for shipping books to Mantua, and Josef Crespin levantino 5 ducats for attempting to send a title to Salonika.

[48] Nicolò Bevilacqua from the Trentino (1510/20–1573) was one of Paolo Manuzio's most important associates. He operated his own press in Venice from 1554 to 1572, and moved to Turin when Duke Emanuele Filiberto of Savoy offered him substantial financial concessions. This is the first notice that he also printed Hebrew texts. Alfredo Cioni, "Nicolò Bevilacqua," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*. Vol. 9 (Rome, 1967), pp. 798–801.

Jews 1,805 ducats and the printers 400. With this the action ended.

The destruction of thousands of titles and the heavy fines levied were grievous financial blows. The Esecutori ordered 4,400 folio volumes of the *Midhrash Rabba*, *Be'ur 'al hat-Torah*, *Ṣe'ror Ha-Mor*, *Or Ha-Sekhel*, and *Maroth Elohim* burned, as well as an indefinite number of four other titles (*Eben Ha-Ezer*, *Abudirham*, *Kol-bo*, and *Mahazor*) also burned. If nearly complete press runs (800 to 1,000) of the last four titles were destroyed, the total number consigned to the flames was between 7,600 and 8,400 volumes. The monetary loss was very high. The retail price of a folio volume began at about a ducat and could climb rapidly; perhaps an average price for a folio volume was 1.5 to 2 ducats.[49] Hence, the retail value of the destroyed volumes may have been between 11,400 ducats (7,600 volumes × 1.5) and 16,800 ducats (8,400 volumes × 2). This loss must be added to the fines of 2,205 ducats.

The Esecutori also ordered a large number of volumes exported. Presumably these books were then sold abroad, meaning that the publishers and their sponsors realized some return on their investment. But it is possible, even probable, that the return was lower than it would have been had they been able to sell the volumes normally. Hence, an additional heavy loss may have been sustained.

The financial loss can be calculated; the affliction of spirit is more difficult to measure but must have been severe.[50] For the

[49] This is my calculation, based on contemporary price lists of the retail prices of Latin and Italian folio volumes. See Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press*, pp. 12–14. I do not have any information on the retail prices of Hebrew books. But since paper and the cost of printing made up the largest part of production costs, I estimate that Hebrew books sold for about the same as Latin and Italian volumes of the same size.

[50] That is, if the bookburning of 1568 was completely carried out. Because so many of the titles ordered destroyed survive in the British Museum, and in light of what followed (see below), one wonders if the destruction orders were fully implemented. Obviously the Jews and their printers would do all in their power to save the books. Moreover, Venetian policy toward the Jews was full of twists and turns in those years; it is possible that the decree of the

second time in fifteen years Venetian Jews saw many volumes essential to the religious life of the community destroyed.

The exact, proximate reason for the Venetian action is not easy to determine. Ultimately it can be traced to the prevailing hostility toward the Jews throughout Italy. But the leaders of the Republic seldom acted without some immediate and concrete reason spurring them into action, and this is difficult to discover. The papacy issued no new decrees against Hebrew books at this time, nor has any directive from the highest organs of the Venetian state (Collegio, Council of Ten, Senate) come to light. No provocative act attributable to the Jews has been unearthed.

The Esecutori repeatedly charged that the Jews and their printers had published these titles without expurgating anti-Christian sentiments, in effect systematically violating the censorship. This could be true, but it seems unlikely that publishers and Jews would engage in deliberate and massive deception at this perilous time. The risks were too great. At the other extreme, it also seems unlikely that the Venetian government cynically raised money for the approaching war against the Turks by punishing the Jews for censorship infractions previously ignored. The Venetian leadership normally honored its pacts with the Jews until expiration — and then raised the price.

The most likely explanation is that a combination of hostility and a desire for vengeance motivated the Venetian government. The Venetians had granted the Jews a haven from the worst forms of persecution, but believed that they had been repaid with treachery. Patricians and commoners alike increasingly feared and hated the Jews as Turkish agents. In this period of mounting hostility, the government became increasingly suspicious of the Hebrew press, viewing the press — as it viewed the Jews — as an internal threat to the security of the state. The Venetians could not read what the Hebrew press produced and may have suspected the worst. Perhaps in this charged atmosphere the leaders reacted

Esecutori was quietly countermanded. When this happened, one seldom finds official notice in governmental documents.

strongly when Christian Hebrew experts reported that the books were full of anti-Christian sentiments. The experts may now have found intolerable passages which earlier would have occasioned only irritation. Determining the orthodoxy of a book depends very much on the intellectual context and political milieu, then as today. The history of sixteenth-century religious censorship offers many examples of changing standards; Erasmus and Machiavelli, for example, were originally accepted but later condemned. Perhaps in this climate of fear and hostility the government, acting through the Esecutori, engaged in retroactive censorship, and justified the heavy penalties imposed as fair retribution against a people who had supposedly repaid toleration with treachery.

The Hebrew press did not quickly recover from this blow. Cavalli, Griffio, and Zanetti gave up publishing Hebrew titles.[51] Giovanni di Gara continued, but his output dropped substantially in the next few years.[52]

After 1568 the situation of the Venetian Jews became perilous. Public opinion held Nasi's Jewish agents in Venice responsible for the devastating Arsenal fire of September 13, 1569. Crowds celebrated the victory of Lepanto (October 7, 1571) by harassing Levantine Jews.[53] But the fall of Cyprus followed the great naval victory, and anger against the Jews increased. At this ominous moment the *condotta* expired, and the Senate met to decide their fate. Many senators felt that this was the time to rid the city of

[51] There is one possible exception to this statement, a Zorzi de' Cavalli printing of *Eben Ha-Ezer* of 1585 is listed in *STC Italian*, p. 344, item 22. But this is so much later as to suggest that the publisher was another person, perhaps a younger relative. Or the entry could be erroneous. Indeed, excluding this work of 1585, the Cavalli firm stopped publishing altogether in 1570, while Giovanni Griffio and Cristoforo Zanetti did very little after 1568. Griffio apparently died at the time of the Great Plague of 1575–1577. See *STC Italian*, pp. 805–06, 855–56, 985.

[52] *STC Italian*, p. 831, lists only three Gara Hebrew titles of 1569 through 1573. Amram, *Makers of Hebrew Books*, p. 360, doesn't list any.

[53] Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, Mss. Italiani, Classe VII, 134 (8035), "Cronaca veneta di Girolamo Savina sino al MDCXV," f. 358*r*.

their presence.[54] One senator depicted the Jews as "the scum of the earth, spies for the Turks, and internal enemies," holding them responsible for the grain shortage and the Arsenal fire. He went on to charge that their moneylending led youths to vice and reduced noble families to penury. The older arguments for toleration carried little weight on this occasion. Another senator asked rhetorically, who will deny that the Jews are perfidious, usurious, miserly, and politically unreliable? Nevertheless, they contribute significantly to the ducal treasury, and make it possible for Christians to avoid staining themselves with the sin of usury. He urged the Republic's traditional policy of tolerance on the grounds of economic utility and in the hope that, someday, they would become Christians. But the Senate, expressing thanks to God for Lepanto and vowing vengeance for Jewish treachery, voted to expel them on December 18, 1571.[55]

Within a few days the Venetians reconsidered, as they calculated the anticipated effects of the loss of the *condotta* payment and the disruption of the monetary exchange. The Senate cancelled the expulsion order, but did not renew the *condotta*, leaving the Jews suspended between toleration and exile, while secret peace negotiations with the Turk began. Turkish acceptance of peace probably depended upon a reprieve for the Jews. Hence, in the summer of 1573 the Senate renewed the *condotta* in exchange for Jewish operation of loanbanks for the poor.[56]

In these very difficult times the Jews and their publishers resorted to clandestine means to print and distribute Hebrew titles. This was the burden of a denunciation that a priest brought to the Venetian Holy Office in April 1570. The target of his allegations

[54] The speeches are summarized by Agostino Valier, *Dell'utilità che si può ritrarre dalle cose operate dai veneziani libri xiv, del Cardinale Agostino Valerio Vescovo di Verona*. Trans. Niccolò Antonio Giustiniani (Padua, 1787), pp. 358–60. Valier (1531–1606), Venetian noble and cardinal, wrote his history c. 1581.

[55] Pullan, *Rich and Poor*, p. 537, quotes the preamble of the expulsion act.

[56] Pullan, *Rich and Poor*, pp. 537–40.

was Marc'Antonio Giustiniani, the patrician publisher of Hebrew books since 1545 until the burning of the Talmud in 1553.

Marc'Antonio Giustiniani was born on December 15, 1516, the third or fourth of seven sons of Niccolò.[57] The Giustiniani were one of the "old" noble families called the "longhi" because they were believed to descend from the tribunes who governed in the Venetian lagoon before the election of the first doge (697).[58] One Giustiniani reached the very high office of Procurator (a lifetime post limited to seven men, from whom the doge was almost always chosen) in 903. Marc'Antonio's branch descended from Ferrigo (called Belletto) Giustiniani (d. 1293), a naval hero in the struggle against Genoa in the Greek archipelago. Members of this branch continued to play a prominent role in the eastern Venetian Empire. Bernardo (d. c. 1498), grandfather of Marc'Antonio, had served as governor at Candia (the capital of Crete) and had at his own expense armed three war galleys against the Turk. Niccolò (d. 1550), Marc'Antonio's father, had been *bailo* at Constantinople.

Neither Marc'Antonio nor his brothers enjoyed the political or military prominence of their ancestors. Marc'Antonio was elected to one significant political office, the *Avvogadori di Comun*, on a single occasion, December 13, 1562, for a term of one year.[59] The Avvogadori were State Attorneys charged with bringing suit against officials or magistracies who abused their trust. Although not minor, the office had lost much of its former prestige and influence by the middle of the sixteenth century.[60] It did not begin to compare with such powerful offices as the *Savii del Consiglio*, Ducal Counsellors, or members of the Council of Ten. Marc'Antonio also managed to obtain the appointment of *rettore* (governor) of

[57] For genealogical and other information on Marc'Antonio and his ancestors, see ASV, Marco Barbaro, "Arbori dei Patritii veneti," vol. 7, pp. 449, 464.

[58] Lane, *Venice*, p. 196.

[59] ASV, Segretario alle voci, Serie Misto, Registro 13, f. 63*v*.

[60] Lane, *Venice*, p. 100. For a discussion of its declining influence, see Gaetano Cozzi, "Authority and the Law in Renaissance Venice," in J. R. Hale, ed., *Renaissance Venice* (London, 1973), pp. 293–345.

Cephalonia, an island stronghold in the Ionian Sea, at some point in the mid-1560s. The priest's denunciation to the Holy Office of April 8 (Saturday), 1570, focused on Marc'Antonio's activities at Cephalonia.

The priest charged that Giustiniani had transformed Cephalonia into a center for printing and distribution of Hebrew books during the past five years.[61] Giustiniani had brought in two bookbinders and an engraver-printer skilled in Arabic: he had then established a press in the governor's palace to produce Arabic and Hebrew books. Since this went on without supervision by the Inquisition or any other authority, Giustiniani was printing and selling unexpurgated, even prohibited, Hebrew volumes, in the opinion of the denouncer. The priest concluded with the startling news that Giustiniani had a chest of illicit volumes in his ship now docked in Venice; he urged the Holy Office to seize the chest immediately.

Instead, the cautious Inquisition gathered more evidence. At its next regular sitting (Tuesday, April 11, 1570),[62] it questioned three soldiers who had been with Giustiniani in Cephalonia. They confirmed that Giustiniani trafficked in Hebrew books, but they had been unable to penetrate the veil of secrecy around the press in the governor's palace — or else they were unwilling to reveal all they knew. At the end of this hearing, the Holy Office ordered the chest of books on Giustiniani's ship seized. When opened before the eyes of the denouncer (April 22), it contained only pelts and sponges.[63] A few days later Giustiniani sent a counter-denunciation of the priest as a scandalmonger.

[61] ASV, Santo Uffizio, Busta 28, Marco Antonio Giustiniani, no pag., consisting of the denunciation of Don Angelo Fasoli (the priest), his testimony and list of Hebrew titles of April 8, 1570, and the testimony of other witnesses and additional material, from April 11 through May 25, 1570.

[62] Year after year, the Venetian Holy Office met on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, days chosen to avoid conflicts with other Venetian magistracies whose meetings the lay deputies (nobles appointed by the government to assist and oversee the Holy Office) might be obliged to attend.

[63] It is not clear whether the order was executed on the 11th or later. It makes little difference, for once the Inquisition failed to act immediately (on

The priest did provide with his initial denunciation a list of the titles that Giustiniani allegedly had shipped from Venice to Cephalonia:[64]

"Commasin con Targon" — *Hummash* with *Targum Onkelos*. Several Venetian printings are known, including one published by Giustiniani in 1546 and the most recent one attributed to Giovanni di Gara in 1567.[65]

"Commasin senza Targon" — *Hummash* without *Targum Onkelos*. Again several Venetian printings are known, including two attributed to the Giustiniani press, in 1547 and 1551.[66]

"Sidorin Spagnoli grandi" — probably Spanish Rite daily prayer books in folio size.

"Chitarin" — *Ketuvim*, i.e., Hagiographa, the third of the three Jewish divisions of the Old Testament, usually comprising Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Solomon, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles.

"Bibia in xvi" — probably a Hebrew Old Testament in 16°. Giustiniani published a Hebrew Old Testament in 24° in 1551–1552.[67]

"Sidorin Spagnoli del mise" — probably Spanish Rite festival prayers.

"Maimonin" — unknown title of Moses Ben Maimun (Maimonides).

"Bibia in 4°" — Giustiniani published a Hebrew Old Testament in 4° in 1551–1552.[68]

the 8th) ample time existed for someone (e.g., one of the soldiers) to warn Giustiniani.

[64] The titles as given by Don Fasoli are reproduced in quotation marks and in the original sequence. For the identifications I followed the same procedure described in note 30 but, needed considerable assistance from Professor Talmage.

[65] *STC Italian*, p. 95, items 15 and 20.

[66] *STC Italian*, p. 95, items 2 and 3.

[67] *STC Italian*, p. 94, item 12.

[68] *STC Italian*, p. 94, item 11.

"Chomas in 4°" — Giustiniani published a quarto Pentateuch with a glossary of difficult words in 1547.[69]

"Perùs Rassi" — Solomon ben Isaac (called Rashi), *Perush Rashi 'al Ha-Torah* (commentary on the Pentateuch). Several Venetian printings, including one attributed to Marc'Antonio Giustiniani of 1548, exist.[70]

"Cholbò" — *Kol-bo* (a ritual). A Venetian printing by Giustiniani of 1547 and another by Zorzi de' Cavalli of 1567 are known.[71]

"Chomas con perus amilot con li suoi Apharot" — the Pentateuch with an explanation of words and the Haphtarah, i.e., a portion of the Prophets chanted in the synagogue on the Sabbath and holidays. Several Venetian printings, including those of 1547 and 1551 by Giustiniani, are extant.[72]

"Elacot Gadolot" — Simeon Kayyara, *Halakhoth Gᵉdoloth* (an epitome of the Babylonian Talmud). Ed. Judah ben Isaac [Venice: Marc'Antonio Giustiniani, 1548].[73]

"Cirorà Maor" — Abraham Saba, *Ṣᵉror Ha-Mor* [Venice: Marc'Antonio Giustiniani, 1545] or [Venice: Zorzi de' Cavalli, 1567].[74]

"Perus Araman sopra il Chomas" — *Perush ha-Ramban*, a commentary on the Pentateuch by Moses ben Naḥman (Nahmanides). The precise edition is difficult to determine; however, the Bomberg press published in 1548 an edition of the Pentateuch with commentaries by Moses ben Naḥman and others.[75]

"Raboth sopra il Chomas" — Midrash Rabbah on the Pentateuch.

"Raboth sopra il chomas megilot" — Midrash Rabbah on the

[69] *STC Italian*, p. 94, item 10.
[70] *STC Italian*, p. 633, item 7.
[71] *STC Italian*, p. 365, items 23 and 24.
[72] *STC Italian*, p. 95, items 1 through 10.
[73] *STC Italian*, p. 628, last item.
[74] *STC Italian*, p. 594, last two items.
[75] *STC Italian*, p. 95, item 16.

Pentateuch and Meghilloth (Five Scrolls). Several Venetian printings had appeared in the previous twenty-five years, including one published by Marc'Antonio Giustiniani in 1545, and two by Zorzi de' Cavalli in 1568.[76]

"Chadachim" — Bahya ben Asher, *Kad Ha-Qemaḥ* (an ethical work) [Venice: Marc'Antonio Giustiniani, 1545].[77]

"Barchiaror del Barbarello (or Barbavello)" — unidentified title of Isaac ben Judah Abravanel. Giustiniani published his *Ro'sh Amanah* in 1545.[78]

"En Jacob; et bet Jacob" — Jacob Ibn Habib, *En Ya'akobh* (the aggadhic passages of the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds) [Venice: Marc'Antonio Giustiniani, 1546–1547], or [Venice: Zorzi de' Cavalli, 1566].[79]

"Abadarom" — David ben Joseph Abudirham, *Abudirham* (a ritual) [Venice: Marc'Antonio Giustiniani, 1546] or [Venice: Zorzi de' Cavalli, 1566].[80]

"Arasba" — probably Solomon ben Abraham Ibn Adret, *She'eloth u-Teshubhoth le-ha-Rashba* [Venice: Marc'Antonio Giustiniani, 1545–1546].[81]

"Agur" — Jacob Baruch ben Judah Landau, *Agur* [Venice: Marc'Antonio Giustiniani, 1546].[82]

"Thoilin con Kimchi" — Psalms with commentary by David ben Joseph Kimhi. [Venice: Giovanni di Gara, 1566].[83]

"Perush Sachia" — perhaps *Perush Shehitah*, i.e., commentary on the laws of slaughtering or a collection of such laws. Possible identifications are Mordecai ben Hillel, *Hilekhoth Sheḥitah* (a compendium in verse on such laws) [Venice: Daniel Adelkind, 1550?][84] or Jacob Weil, *Sheḥitoth u-*

[76] *STC Italian*, p. 437, items 10, 11, 12, 15.
[77] *STC Italian*, p. 67, item 24.
[78] *STC Italian*, p. 3, item 4.
[79] *STC Italian*, p. 655, items 24 and 25.
[80] *STC Italian*, p. 3, items 27 and 28.
[81] *STC Italian*, p. 632, item 27.
[82] *STC Italian*, p. 367, second last item on the page.
[83] *STC Italian*, p. 97, item 13.
[84] *STC Italian*, p. 448, item 28.

Bᵉdiqoth, ed. Me'ir ben Ephraim, ha-Sopher of Padua. [Mantua: Jacob ben Naphtali, ha-Kohen, for Venturino Ruffinelli, 1556].[85]

"Sepher Atermà" — probably Baruch ben Isaac, *Sepher ha-Tᵉrumah*. A printing of 1523 attributed to Bomberg is extant.[86]

"Commassin con Latin con la decchiaration del dicduc per imparar Latin et hebreo" — a Hebrew-Latin Pentateuch with a Hebrew-Latin grammar. A publication answering this description has not been located, although the Giustiniani press issued a Hebrew-Latin Pentateuch with commentary by Sebastian Münster in 1551.[87]

"Rabi Jacob balaturim" — Jacob ben Asher, *Arbaʿah Turim*. Giovanni Griffio published in 1566 the most complete recent Venetian printing, with commentary by Joseph ben Ephraim Caro.[88]

"Heliocotolam" — Yᵉshuʿah ben Joseph, *Halikoth ʿOlam* (a methodology of the Babylonian Talmud) [Venice: Cornelius Adelkind & Judah ben Isaac, ha-Levi, & Jehiel ben Jekuthiel, ha-Kohen, for Giovanni de' Farri and his brother, 1544].[89]

"Sidorsolam" — possibly *Seder ʿOlam* (Order of the World, a chronicle). [Venice: Marc'Antonio Giustiniani, 1545].[90]

"Igarot" — Iggᵉroth (letters). Possibly Moses Ben Maimun (Maimonides), *Iggᵉroth* [Venice: Marc'Antonio Giustiniani, 1545].[91]

'Biurim sopra il perus Rassi" — supercommentary on Rashi, i.e., a commentary on Rashi's commentary on the Penta-

[85] *STC Italian*, p. 736, item 23.

[86] *STC Italian*, p. 75, item 18.

[87] *STC Italian*, p. 95, item 17. Münster (1489–1552) was a German Hebraist and historian.

[88] *STC Italian*, p. 344, item 12.

[89] *STC Italian*, p. 739, item 4.

[90] *STC Italian*, p. 620, item 11.

[91] *STC Italian*, p. 452, item 15.

teuch. Possibilities include the supercommentary of Israel ben Petahiah Isserlein, published in Venice by Cristoforo Zanetti in 1566, or the *Diqduqe Rashi* (anonymous grammatical notes on Rashi) published in Riva di Trento, 1560.[92]

"Pelmoet" — possibly Solomon ben Abraham Ibn Adred, *Ohel Mo'ed* (a dictionary of synonyms). [Venice: Marc' Antonio Giustiniani, 1548].[93]

The list of readily identifiable titles argues strongly that the priest based his denunciation on concrete information, probably the books themselves. Perhaps he saw them at the loading dock in Cephalonia or in Giustiniani's ship. Or someone else in Cephalonia read the titles and passed on the information to the priest. Obviously the denouncer or his informant read Hebrew.

Even though Giustiniani's chest contained sponges rather than books, the Inquisition continued its investigation. Other witnesses testified that Giustiniani was trafficking in Hebrew books and that he operated a printing press in the governor's palace. But they could not confirm that he printed Hebrew books. Giustiniani had brought to Cephalonia a German, one Cristoforo Nicostella da Magonza (Mainz) for the purpose of engraving Arabic maps and printing Turkish prayers ("orationi Turchesca"). The Holy Office questioned Nicostella, who acknowledged that he had been engaged in the Arabic and Turkish printing projects, but had withdrawn over a wage dispute with Giustiniani. He said nothing about printing Hebrew books but did relay some secondhand information: Zuan Jacopo Bollani of Venice, the first bookbinder at Cephalonia, had told Nicostella that Giustiniani had transported twelve boxes of Hebrew books "both good and prohibited" ("fra buoni et prohibitij") from Venice and had had them bound in the governor's palace in Cephalonia. These books looked like the Talmud that was burned in Venice, according to Zuan Jacopo.

Cristoforo had also heard that four boxes of these books were shipped to Zante (the next Venetian island outpost in the Ionian

92 *STC Italian*, p. 633, items 9 and 11.

93 *STC Italian*, p. 632, item 21.

Sea, directly south of Cephalonia) from whence they were sent to Syria as well. The Holy Office did not question Bollani,[94] but did question the other bookbinder who had succeeded Bollani at Cephalonia. The second bookbinder confirmed that he had bound Hebrew books there, but did not know if they were prohibited titles. He knew nothing about Hebrew printing in Cephalonia.

The list of titles and the corroborative testimony easily establish that Giustiniani dealt in Hebrew books. One can speculate on the chronology and geography of the trade. Perhaps when the Esecutori in 1568 ordered Hebrew volumes exported out of the Venetian state, the Jews and their publishers only sent them to Cephalonia. Giustiniani then quietly returned the books to Venice at the first opportunity.

The additional and more fascinating possibility is that Giustiniani printed Hebrew books in Cephalonia. It is conceivable that the Jews and their publishers smuggled type to Cephalonia and there replaced the titles destroyed in Venice. According to Nicostella, Bollani had told him that the books that he was binding were like the Talmud burned in Venice. He may have been binding, for example, copies of Simeon Kayyara's *Halakhoth G^{e}doloth*, an epitome of the Talmud published by Giustiniani in 1548, and perhaps reprinted in Cephalonia. Indeed, the list of titles presented by the priest strongly suggests that Giustiniani was both reprinting titles that he had originally published between 1545 and 1553 as well as reprinting titles published by Cavalli, Gara, Griffio, and Zanetti, between 1563 and 1568.[95] In this way the Venetian Hebrew press may have continued to fulfil its traditional role of supplier of liturgical and rabbinical works to Jewish communities all the length of the Mediterranean Sea.

Yet, the evidence for a Hebrew printing press in Cephalonia is circumstantial rather than conclusive. The priest did not claim that

[94] It appears from the documents that Bollani was no longer in Cephalonia nor readily available in Venice.

[95] Of course, Giustiniani would not list Cephalonia as the place of publication of any books printed there. This would only draw attention to his illegal activities.

he had seen it, and the printer and bookbinder said nothing about it. Of course, the latter two may have been lying.[96] It is also possible that Giustiniani only imported unbound Hebrew books from somewhere else in the Mediterranean, bound them in Cephalonia, and sold them in Venice and other lands. The Holy Office could not convict without concrete evidence, so the investigation petered out. But the members of the Inquisition probably strongly suspected that Giustiniani operated a Hebrew press in Cephalonia, and that same suspicion seems justifiable four centuries later.

Certainly the clandestine traffic in Hebrew books continued. When Marc'Antonio Giustiniani died in Cephalonia (July 25, 1571), his eldest son followed in his footsteps. Antonio Giustiniani (1553–1580)[97] brought fourteen chests of Hebrew books from Cephalonia to Venice sometime in the first half of 1574. The Holy Office examined them at the customs dock, released twelve, and sealed two chests pending expurgation. The Holy Office held the key but permitted Antonio to take the sealed chests to his home. The chests then disappeared. Giustiniani blandly explained to the Holy Office that he had needed more room in his house to lodge some French dignitaries in the train of Henry III whom the Venetian government had lavishly hosted in July 1574. So he had sold the books to a Ferrara Jew. The angry Inquisition tried to trace the books, but encountered a series of dead ends. For example, Giustiniani told the tribunal that the sale had been ar-

[96] Members of the Venetian booktrade very seldom cooperated with the Inquisition. They often violated the Index of Prohibited Books, especially by smuggling prohibited volumes from northern Europe into Venice, and they endured frequent questioning by the Inquisition without revealing much. They grudgingly admitted their guilt when the Holy Office had overwhelming evidence, such as possession of the illicit volumes. But even under intense questioning, they almost never revealed additional information about any aspect of the booktrade.

[97] ASV, Marco Barbaro, "Arbori dei Patritii veneti," vol. 7, p. 449, with the notation that Antonio was killed. This branch of the Giustiniani family died out with Antonio and his three brothers. Only two of them married, and none produced legitimate heirs. (It is not known if there were any illegitimate offspring, because the Barbaro genealogies do not list them.)

ranged by a certain Rialto broker — who had died in the meantime. In the end the Inquisition gave up trying to recover the books, but fined Antonio 100 ducats.[98] Whatever the true story of the disappearance of the books, the significant point is that distribution of unexpurgated Hebrew books persisted despite the controls of church and state.

After the narrow escape of 1571, the lot of Venetian Jewry steadily improved, as its indispensable role in the Republic's commercial and social life grew and was acknowledged by the government.[99] The easing of hostility toward the Jews led to the revival of Hebrew publishing. In 1574 Alvise Bragadino and Me'ir Parenzo began again to publish Hebrew titles. The Great Plague of 1575–1577 brought printing and most other economic activity to a halt. Subsequently, Giovanni di Gara, and the respective Bragadino and Parenzo heirs published Hebrew titles in greater quantity. Eventually a handful of other publishers joined them, especially in the 1590s. Clandestine measures were no longer needed.

The Jewish community and their publishers suffered heavily in 1568, but managed to continue printing and distributing Hebrew books. The titles listed by the priest in 1570 were almost exclusively religious, either liturgical works or learned commentaries necessary for rabbinic scholarship. They were essential for the maintainance of religious life of a community enduring persecution. Although much remains unknown, the fundamental point is clear: the Jews, with the aid of the Giustiniani family, obtained the books they needed.

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[98] ASV, Santo Uffizio, Busta 37, Antonio Giustiniani, no pag., the questioning of Giustiniani and others from October 22, 1574, through April 19, 1575.

[99] Pullan, *Rich and Poor*, pp. 541–78.

[100] Amram, *Makers of Hebrew Books*, pp. 342–44, 360–63.

THE RECENSIONS AND STRUCTURE OF *SEFER ḤASIDIM*

By Ivan G. Marcus

"*The Book of the Pietists*," wrote Moritz Güdemann in 1880, "is one of those books which are often quoted — and then only in snatches — seldom read in their entirety, and almost never studied."[1] That this observation is no longer true is due in no small measure to Güdemann's own efforts at unraveling some of the book's enigmas.[2] Yet, despite a considerable amount of subsequent scholarly debate, several problems concerning the textual development of the book remain unsolved.

Among these, two separate but interrelated questions are especially perplexing: What is the relationship between the two published versions of the book?[3] Can a substantive structure of the book as a whole be discovered? This essay intends to advance some new observations towards the solution of both problems.

[1] Moritz Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der abendländischen Juden während des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit* (1880–88; reprint; 3 vols.; Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1968), I, 281.

[2] *Ibid.*, 281–291.

[3] When the book is referred to, regardless of editions, it is called simply "*Sefer Ḥasidim*." References to the first edition, Bologna, 1538, are abbreviated SHB; those to the Parma edition, Hebrew manuscript De Rossi 1133, published by Jehuda Wistinetzki (Berlin: Meqizei Nirdamim, 1891) and reprinted with a new "Introduction" by Jacob Freimann (Frankfurt am Main, 1924), are cited as SHP.

It should be noted that the edition by Reuven Margoliot (Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1957) is closely related to, but not identical with, SHB. Like all other descendants of the first edition, Margoliot's contains evidence of censorship and a partial renumbering of the paragraphs, first introduced in the second edition, Basel, 1581. See Freimann, "Introduction," 9. For the importance of using SHB, see below, n. 35.

Although we shall not eliminate all the difficulties, we hope we will have carried the discussion another step forward.

I

Prior to Güdemann's work, few scholars paid much attention to *Sefer Ḥasidim*. In 1789, H. Y. D. Azulai wrote a learned commentary on it, but he was more concerned with harmonizing rabbinic authorities than with examining the book's historical significance.[4]

For *Wissenschaft* scholars like Zunz and Graetz, the book was something of an embarrassment. Its folkloristic elements included references to the wandering spirits of the dead and to various magical rites, the opposite of their own conception of authentic Jewish culture. To be sure, Zunz mentioned the book and, in passing, supported the view that its author was R. Judah b. Samuel of Speyer,[5] a position which Graetz was later to challenge with as much certainty as futility.[6]

In his discussion of the book, Zunz included a few passages in German translation, and his selectivity betrays the apologetic uses to which the book could be put. For Zunz chose only those sections which deal with a narrow range of subjects: Jewish humility, fair business practices with Gentile and Jew alike, aiding a Gentile threatened by a Jew, not helping an escaped murderer, even if a Jew, not relying on amulets but on God, forgiving insults, kindness of parents to children and respect of children for parents.[7] How broadminded and ecumenical the book

[4] See his *Brit ʿOlam* which was published with *Lev David* (Livorno, 1789), 80a-149a.

[5] Leopold Zunz, *Zur Geschichte und Literatur* (Berlin, 1845), 136.

[6] H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden* (13 vols. in 11; 3rd ed.; Leipzig, 1873–1900) VI, 215, especially n. 2 (end).

[7] Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, 135–142, *passim*. Compare his selections with those of others such as Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens*, I, 179–198; Moshe David [Umberto] Cassuto, "Dal Sefer Chasidim," in *Scritti in onore de Dante Lattes* (Rome, 1938) = *La Rassegna Mensile de Israel*, XII (1938), 51–57; Jacob R. Marcus, ed., *The Jew in the Medieval World* (1938; reprint; New York, 1965), 377–378; Curt Leviant, ed., *Masterpieces of Hebrew Literature* (New York: Ktav, 1969), 380–388, and others.

appears from this carefully wrought selection! No reader would suspect that it is also filled with fabulous tales of the supernatural and demonic[8] and with signs of antipathy towards Christians.[9]

Graetz devoted even less space to *Sefer Ḥasidim* than had Zunz, but he was less inhibited in choosing his quotations. After noting that the book contains ethical wisdom, he included summaries of its superstitions, but then proceeded to explain them away. Like Zunz he also felt apologetic about the work. The "insipid" parts, Graetz argued, reflect the isolated nature of Jewish life in France under Philip Augustus. Following his review of passages which deal with wandering spirits of the dead, he implied that such lapses were hardly the Jews' fault. Judah the Pietist [i.e., for Graetz, Judah b. Isaac Sir Leon] was merely a product of his hard times. Unfortunately, Graetz concluded, Judah's disciples "were shaped by his spirit, and, seeing [true] Judaism only through a thick fog, became opponents of free inquiry. Later on, his followers became embroiled in a controversy against the greatest conception of Judaism which grew out of the Spanish school", i.e. Maimonides.[10]

Ill at ease with the superstitious character of *Sefer Ḥasidim*, both Zunz and Graetz made only minor contributions to the solution of its textual problems. Zunz, for his part, correctly pointed out that SHB (the Bologna edition of *Sefer Ḥasidim*) contains passages from Maimonides and other Jewish authors

[8] For examples of this motif, see Joseph Dan, "Sippurim Demonologiyim mi-Kitvei R. Yehudah he-Ḥasid," *Tarbiz*, XXX (1961), 273–289; *idem*, "Five Versions of the Story of the Jerusalemite," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, XXXV (1967), 99–111; *idem*, "Rabbi Judah the Pious and Caesarius of Heisterbach: Common Motifs in their Stories," in *Scripta Hierosolymitana* XXII: *Studies in Agadah and Folk-Literature*, edited by Joseph Heinemann and Dov Noy (Jerusalem, Magnes Press, 1971), 18–27.

[9] For a more recent assessment which reveals the complexity of this problem in *Sefer Ḥasidim*, see Jacob Katz, *Exclusiveness and Tolerance* (New York: Schocken, 1962), 93–105.

[10] Graetz, *Geschichte*, VI, 216–218. The quotation is on 218. On the problem to which Graetz alluded, the "Maimonidean Controversy," see E. E. Urbach, "Ḥelqam shel Ḥakhmei Ashkenaz ve-Ẓarfat b'Pulmus ʿal ha-Rambam ve-ʿal Sefarav," *Zion*, XII (1947), 149–159.

who were not part of Judah the Pietist's circle. He also noted that some quotations which later authors claimed to be from *Sefer Ḥasidim* were not all found in SHB, and concluded that SHB is probably a later reworking of an original text.[11]

More tenuous, on the other hand, was Graetz' hypothesis that Judah the Pietist was the French Jew, Judah b. Isaac Sir Leon of Paris. He based this identification mainly on late chronicles and on the presence of French vernacular expressions in SHB. He persisted in this position long after his disciple, Moritz Güdemann, had offered strong arguments in favor of Zunz' view.[12]

The first scholar who actually analyzed the different internal layers or sources in SHB was Jacob Reifmann.[13] He found indications of three original sources which he claimed were written by different authors. Moreover, he argued that these components could be distinguished from one another by means of substantive and stylistic criteria.

Applying these, he divided SHB into three original components:[14]

Book I: paragraphs 1–152
Book II: paragraphs 153–161
Book III: paragraph 162 to the end.

As far as content is concerned, Reifmann indicated that the first and third books differ in their attitude toward magic: the first opposes it; the third favors it. The first also differs from the other two in another way, namely, it contains many passages from Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, especially from *Hilekhot Teshuvah*. Reifmann concluded: "All of this shows that [Book I's] author was a partisan of Maimonides in his approach to learning science as a

[11] Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, 125–126.

[12] Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens*, I, 281–291 and cf. Ismar Schorsch, "Moritz Güdemann: Rabbi, Historian, and Apologist," *Year Book of the Leo Baeck Institute*, XI (1965), 54, n. 58. For Zunz' view, see above, n. 5.

[13] See his *Arba'ah Ḥorashim* (Prague, 1860), 6–23.

[14] *Ibid.*, 6.

means of learning about God..."[15] He also thought there were stylistic differences among the three parts. The first quotes various sources without mentioning their authors, whereas the third usually identifies them. From this, Reifmann inferred that the former took the parallel passages from the latter, not the other way around. As far as Book II is concerned, he thought it is distinguished from the other two by its greater linguistic obscurities. Reifmann suggested that it may have been Eleazar of Worms, Judah the Pietist's main disciple, who wrote Book III, whereas Book I, based as it partially is on III, was written by an author who lived after Eleazar. As to the identity of the author of Book II, he left the problem unresolved.[16]

Twenty years after Reifmann's pioneering, though somewhat impressionistic, efforts, Moritz Güdemann applied himself to the same problem of identifying the original components of *Sefer Ḥasidim*. Not yet in possession of the Parma manuscript, SHP,[17] he nevertheless was able to make a number of major modifications to Reifmann's conclusions.

Güdemann agreed that the original book had not been preserved. He surmised that different authors had used a common source and excerpted from it and that it is three condensations from this source which are found in SHB. Although he thus was in agreement with Reifmann as to the number of sources, he defined them differently. Compare their two analyses:

	Reifmann	*Güdemann*
Book I:	Pars. 1–152	1–161
Book II:	" 153–161	162–469
Book III:	" 162 to the end	1136 to the end

In defense of his division, Güdemann pointed out the following with regard to ed. Bologna. SHB, par. 1 contains the title "*Sefer Ḥasidim*"; par. 162 begins "*Sefer ha-Ḥasidim*"; par. 469 seems to

[15] *Ibid.*, 7–8: cf. below, pp. 52–3.

[16] *Ibid.*, 6–13, especially 13–14.

[17] Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens*, I, 284, n. 1; cf. 290–291.

be a conclusion;[18] and par. 1136 states: "zeh huʿataq mi-Sefer Ḥasidim aḥer." As a result of this rearrangement, however, Güdemann came to the awkward conclusion that the largest part of the book, pars. 470–1135, is derived not from the original, but is a late addition by compilers.[19]

Güdemann went even further than Reifmann by indicating smaller sub-sections within his own Book I. He based this subdivision on a statement in SHB, par. 2 which reads: "The author of this book, who wrote about pietism [*ḥasidut*], humility [*ʿanavah*], and reverence [*yir'ah*], each in a separate notebook, said..."[20] Searching for these three topics in his Book I [pars. 1–161], he thought he found them in the following order: pars. 2–15 on pietism, 15–153 on humility, and 153–161 on reverence. He therefore criticized Reifmann for excluding pars. 153–161 from Book I and argued that Reifmann failed to appreciate the threefold table of contents mentioned in SHB, par 2.[21]

Güdemann's reconstruction of the components of SHB is attractive and, at first glance, even plausible, but it raises as many questions as it attempts to answer. Althought it is true, as Güdemann maintained, that SHB, pars. 1 and 162 contain titles, whereas par. 153 does not, that paragraph *ends* with the statement "'Al ken ʿarakhti Sefer zeh ha-Yir'ah...," which may indicate the beginning of Book II as Reifmann thought.

There is also additional evidence in support of Reifmann's division. For example, a comparison of the parallel passages in SHB and SHP shows that SHB, par. 153 is the first paragraph of SHP.[22] In other words, the Parma manuscript begins with *Sefer ha-Yir'ah*, and that tract is totally disconnected from the material which precedes it in SHB. Moreover, Güdemann knew of an Oppenheim

[18] See below, pp. 38–39.

[19] *Ibid.*, 284–287.

[20] *Ibid.*, 285; SHB. par. 2 reads: "ואמר בעל זה הספר אשר חבר דברי החסידות והענוה והיראה כל אחד במחברת..."

[21] Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens*, I, 286.

[22] Güdemann was aware of this but did not see how it might bear on his dentification of the source-units in SHB. See *ibid.*, 291.

manuscript entitled *Sefer ha-Ḥasidut*[23] which contains only SHB, pars. 1–152. Now Güdemann argued that the manuscript was so entitled because pars. 2–15 deal with pietism [*ḥasidut*], the first of the three notebooks, but it is more plausible to assume that the title refers to the entire 152 paragraphs of the manuscript and that they constitute a separate unit.

It finally remains to be seen how valid is Güdemann's interpretation of SHB, par. 2. His assumption that a compiler provided in it a table of contents of the three topics in the following pars. 2–161 does not seem to be a necessary interpretation of that passage. True, pars. 2–15 do dwell on pietism and pars. 153–161 are concerned with reverence, but to define the large intervening section of pars. 16–153 as centered on the theme of humility alone, requires forcing matters too much. Actually, only pars. 15 and 16 explicitly mention that subject, and it is arbitrary to claim that prayers, in par. 18, or repentance, in pars. 19 ff., belong more to the topic of humility than to the more general theme of pietism. In reality, pars. 2–153 contain several passages on the various elements of pietism which call to mind the rubrics and contents of Eleazar of Worms' *Hilekhot Ḥasidut* and *Sodei Razayya*.[24]

The passage in SHB, par. 2 is not a rigid table of contents for pars. 2–161. After all, the text does not say "The author of this book, who wrote on pietism [etc.] *here*, said," but "the author of this book, who wrote on pietism, humility, and reverence, each in a separate notebook, said..." [25] The statement need not be interpreted as a rubric for what immediately follows it. The book is called *Sefer Ḥasidim* in SHB, par. 1, or *Sefer ha-Ḥasidut* in the Oppenheim manuscript, and the compiler is simply noting that the author of this book also compiled topical notebooks on three

[23] *Ibid.*, 286. Cf. Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, 126. This manuscript is now at Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hebrew MS Neubauer no. 875, part 3, f. 131r–151r.

[24] See Ivan G. Marcus, "The Organization of the *Haqdamah* and *Hilekhoth Ḥasiduth* in Eleazar of Worms' *Sefer ha-Roqeaḥ*," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, XXXVI (1968), 92–94.

[25] See above, n. 20.

themes. For all of these reasons, Reifmann's definition of Book I [pars. 1–152] is more plausible than Güdemann's [pars. 1–161].

If Güdemann's definition of SHB, pars. 1–161 as Book I is questionable, his description of pars. 162–469 as Book II is even less tenable. This designation is based on an unwarranted assumption about the theme of those paragraphs. Güdemann asserted that his Book II deals with superstitions. He supported this view by pointing to a compiler's apologetic note at the beginning of par. 162 to the effect that what follows teaches about pietism [*ḥasidut*], not superstitions [*darkhei ha-emori*].[26] Since the end of par. 469 discusses subjects generally included under that term, e.g., spirits and amulets, and also contains the phrase "sof davar" ["finally"], he took that paragraph to be the conclusion of the unit on superstitions.[27]

True, Güdemann correctly observed that par. 162 shows signs of a new beginning (see above); however, his argument about the definition of pars. 162–469 as a single bloc about superstitions is not valid. In the first place, par. 162's title refers to pietism, not superstitions. Moreover, there is no objective basis for separating pars. 469 from 470: both mention amulets.[28] It is not clear, then, how the phrase "sof davar" in par. 469 constitutes a sign that the so-called unit on superstitions has ended with that paragraph.

Furthermore, it is not necessary to equate the expression *darkhei ha-emori* with popular magic.[29] and there are other sub-

[26] Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens*, I, 287.

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] The theme of most of par. 469 is harmful spirits [*mazziqin*]. The line in question introduces a short passage which warns against the use of amulets and incantations to ward off such spirits. The end of par. 469 and the beginning of par. 470 follow: "סוף דבר אין מזיקים מתגרים אלא במי שמתגרה בהם כגון שכתב הוא או אבותיו קמיעות... לאחד בקשו ממנו לעשות קמיע..." [par. 470]

[29] For various denotations of the phrase *darkhei ha-emori*, see Rashi on B. Shabbat 67a and B. Avodah Zarah 11a, both s.v. *darkhei ha-emori*; Tosafot to B. Sanhedrin 52b, s.v. 'ela; *Sifra* (ed. I. H. Weiss), *Aḥarei Mot*, ch. 13: 9, 86a, on Leviticus 18: 3; B. Ḥullin 41b; B. Sota 49b; B. Bava Qamma 83a and 91b and see Gerson D. Cohen, "The Soteriology of R. Abraham Maimuni," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, XXXV (1967), 83–89. For the topical structure of *Sefer Ḥasidim*, see below.

stantive ways of dividing pars. 162 ff. Oddly enough, pars. 162–469 contain no major section on any topic which could be viewed as superstition per se. Thus, Güdemann's division of SHB, pars. 162 to the end, into a bloc on superstitions and another longer one [pars. 470–1135], which was supposedly added by a later compiler, does not fit the evidence.[30]

Despite the limitations of their analyses, Reifmann and Güdemann each contributed to the solution of the structure of *Sefer Ḥasidim*. Although Reifmann had little to offer in explaining how the bulk of SHB was organized, his analysis of the beginning of SHB remains plausible: pars. 1–152 belong together; pars. 153–161 are a separate unit. Güdemann, too, could not account for the structure of most of the book, but his stress on the three-topic statement in SHB, par. 2 suggested that there might be other small topical units in the rest of the book as well.[31]

II

A few years after the publication of Güdemann's analysis of ed. Bologna, Jehuda Wistinetzki published the Parma manuscript, SHP, a complete second version of *Sefer Ḥasidim*.[32] This recension of 1983 paragraphs, as against SHB's 1178, offered scholars new da'a for the study of the original *Sefer Ḥasidim*. At the same time, however, it further complicated the problem. From now on it would not be enough to confine the analysis to SHB alone, as Reifmann and Güdemann did, but one would also have to ask how the two recensions are related to each other as well as to the supposedly lost *Urtext* of *Sefer Ḥasidim*.

The first scholar who showed an awareness of this problem was Solomon Wertheimer. Although he was mainly concerned with

[30] Güdemann did correctly note, however, that the end of SHB, i.e. pars. 1135–1178, contains a separate source entitled "Mi-Sefer Ḥasidim aḥer" ["From another Sefer Ḥasidim"]. On its significance, see below, n. 36.

[31] This notion was also advanced by Abraham Epstein in "R. Shmuel he-Ḥasid," *Kitvei R. Avraham Epstein* (2 vols.; Jerusalem: Mosad ha-Rav Kook, 1950), I, 259.

[32] See above, n. 3.

making textual emendations and explanatory glosses in both recensions, he also made the general observation that the differences between SHB and SHP indicate that several versions of *Sefer Ḥasidim* had probably been compiled by students of Judah the Pietist.[33]

It was Jacob Freimann who took up the task of comparing the two published recensions in great detail.[34] He used Wistinetzki's table of parallels between SHP and SHB and added a reverse table at the end of his important "Introduction," so that comparisons could be made in both directions.[35] He also made use of a peculiar feature of SHP. Whereas Reifmann and Güdemann had based their analysis on different titles of the book ("*Sefer Ḥasidim*," "*Sefer ha-Ḥasidim*," etc.), Freimann's main point of departure[36] was the presence of topical rubrics in the second half of SHP,[37]

[33] Solomon Wertheimer, *Leshon Ḥasidim* (Jerusalem, 1897?), 43a, n. 46.

[34] Freimann, "Introduction," *passim*. Prior to this work, Abraham Epstein also had used SHP, but he did not subject it to a thorough comparative analysis with SHB. He noted that the Parma manuscript lacked many of the additions in SHB and concluded: "Therefore, one cannot learn from [SHB] about the character of the [original] book...." Even though some additions are found in SHP, Epstein insisted that "[SHP] was edited earlier... and contains many clues from which one can clarify somewhat the book's sources." See Epstein, "R. Shmuel he-Ḥasid," I, 258.

[35] Since the tables were based on the first edition of Bologna, 1538, one encounters some discrepancies if one uses a later, partially renumbered edition such as that of Reuven Margoliot.

[36] In SHP, Freimann pointed to "Sefer ha-Yirah" (par. 1); "Sefer ha-Teshuvah," alluded to in par. 13, p. 12 line 30; "Sefer Ḥasidim" (par. 27); reference to an anonymous book (par. 721); and "Sefer Ḥasidim be-Mishlei Shlomo" (par. 1792).

As far as SHB is concerned, he referred to a tract on humility (par. 2) and correctly saw that pars. 1135 to the end, entitled "Mi-Sefer Ḥasidim aḥer," actually are based on Eleazar of Worms' *Sefer Ḥokhmat ha-Nefesh*. See Freimann, "Introduction," 12.

[37] The titles of topical units in the main part of SHP, SHP I, are "'Inyanei shabbat" (par. 589); "'Inyanei sefarim" (par. 638); "'Inyanei lomdei torah" (par. 747); "'Inyanei ẓedaqah" (par. 857); "'Inyanei kibbud av va-em" (par. 929).

Beginning with 1) "Din herem u'shevu'ah" (par. 1386), we find a large

from which he went on to compare the arrangement of parallel passages on the same topics in both texts. He reached the conclusion that ed. Bologna was a later, more edited, version than the Parma manuscript, a view which has been widely accepted.[38]

Unfortunately, Freimann did not apply the method of content analysis far enough. If one reads both versions and notices what general topics are being discussed, where one ends and another begins, one finds a coherent topical structure in both recensions

number of short blocs of material, SHP II, which have rubrics beginning "gam kan." This phrase indicates that those blocs are appendices to earlier blocs on the same theme. The rubric just listed and three others below do not conform to this formula but, as we shall see, all of those blocs are appendices to related material found earlier in the book. See below, p. 47. The rubrics of the other appendices are 2) "Gam zeh din ne'emanut" (par. 1427);
3) "Gam kan katuv ʿinyanei hezeqot ve-onshei adam" (par. 1435);
4) "Gam kan katuv ʿinyanei hashbaʿot u-mazziqin" (par. 1448);
5) "ʿInyanei hezeq ketiv kan" (par. 1461);
6) "ʿInyan talmud torah ketiv kan" (par. 1474);
7) "Gam b'khan ketiv ʿinyan metim" (par. 1530);
8) "Gam kan katuv ʿinyanei tefillah" (par. 1568);
9) "Gam kan ʿinyanei sheḥitah ve-ṭohorah u-perishut" (par. 1649);
10) "Gam kan katuv ʿinyanei ẓedaqah" (par. 1675);
11) "Gam kan katuv ʿinyan kibbud av va-em" (par. 1719);
12) "Gam kan katuv ʿinyan sefarim" (par. 1739);
13) "Gam kan katuv ʿinyanei shabbat" (par. 1764);
14) "Sefer ha-Ḥasidim be-Mishlei Shlomo" (par. 1792);
15) ["G]am kar katuv ʿinyan ishah" (par. 1875);
16) "Gam kan katuv ʿinyan ḥasidut" (par. 1924).

With the exception of the section of proverbs (14), all of the blocs that these titles introduce deal with themes found in an earlier bloc in SHP. For some reason, there are three short sections on harmful spirits clustered together (3–5). No. 6 really contains: Study (1474–1506); Pietism (1507–20); Dead (1521–25); Women (1526–29).

[38] Among others, see Gershom Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (1941; reprint, New York, Schocken, 1961), 369, n. 6; A. Cronbach, "Social Thinking in *Sefer Ḥasidim*," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, XXII (1949), 1, n. 1; Monford Harris, "Dreams in *Sefer Ḥasidim*," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, XXXI (1963), 56, n. 10. (Note, again, that *pace* Harris and others ed. R. Margoliot is *not* identical with SHB.) Cf. also Joseph Dan, "Hasidim, Sefer," *Encyclopedia Judaica* (1972), VII, 1390. See Freimann, "Introduction," 19.

even when there are no topical rubrics in the text.[39] Moreover, the disclosure of this complete topical structure makes it necessary to revise Freimann's conclusions about the relative lateness of ed. Bologna compared with the Parma manuscript. Indeed, as a broad generalization, Freimann's thesis is rather misleading. A re-examination of his arguments and the data will show why his analysis is problematic.

When he focused on the topical rubrics in SHP, Freimann immediately saw that some topics with rubrics are duplicated. Moreover, the rubrics of the duplicate blocs or appendices usually begin with the formula "gam kan". For example, there are passages on the Sabbath in SHP, pars. 589–637 and again in pars. 1764–1784. Preceding par. 589, we find the title: "'inyanei shabbat"; just before par. 1764, the title reads "Gam kan katuv 'inyanei shabbat." Freimann correctly saw that SHP contains a number of pairs of thematically related blocs that are separated from each other by vast blocs of other materials.

On the other hand, he noticed that parallels of the passages from the pairs of blocs in SHP are found together in SHB, in one bloc, and without any of the rubrics:[40]

> ...in its appearance ed. Bologna differs in an essential way from our *Sefer Ḥasidim* [i.e. SHP]. There [i.e. SHB] we find two halves of a chapter joined together into one complete thematic unit. This union is characterized by the very same ordering [of passages] as is found in ed. Parma. That is, whatever is earlier there, is also found earlier in ed. Bologna, whatever is later in our text, in a separate chapter, is immediately appended there, without any intervening material. Therefore, in ed. Bologna there is only one chapter on each topic....[41]

From Freimann's words, one would assume that the passages from the pairs of related, though separated, blocs from SHP would

[39] Scholem exaggerates the disorder of *Sefer Ḥasidim* by referring to it as "often resembling a mass of casual jottings rather than a coherent literary composition." See his *Major Trends*, 83.

[40] Freimann, "Introduction," 19. [41] *Ibid.*

be found together in SHB as discrete blocs and in the same order as in SHP. But this is not so. True, there are two blocs on prayer in SHP, pars. 391–585 and 1568–1648, and only one on this topic in SHB introduced by a rubric, but compare how the parallels from material in the two blocs from SHP are found in SHB:

TABLE I[43]

SHP	*SHB parallels*
391	749
	750
392	751
	752
393	753
394	754
	755
	756
395	756
397	757
.....	
1591	758
	759
406	759
407	760
1592	762
1593	763
502	764
1633	765
410	766
411	767

[42] Freimann's comparison of one particular set of parallels in both recensions seemed to offer conclusive evidence that SHB was the later one. Thus in SHP there are two blocs with related titles on harmful spirits. But it is the *first* bloc, pars. 1435–1447, which is headed "Gam kan katuv 'inyanei hezeqot ve'onshei adam," whereas the second, pars. 1461–1474, begins "'inyanei hezeq ketiv kan." In SHB, parallels to some of these paragraphs are found in pars. 458–485. However, parallels to passages from the two blocs in SHP are found in reversed order: parallels from SHP, pars. 1461–1474 *precede* parallels from SHP, pars. 1435–1447. Surely, Freimann reasoned, the irregular order of the rubrics in SHP betrays a compiler's error which the later editor of SHB corrected by reversing the parallel material. See above, n. 37 (end).

[43] See Freimann, "Introduction," 67–68.

The data in Table I indicate that in SHB several parallels from the second bloc in SHP on prayer, pars. 1568–1648, precede material from the first bloc, SHP, pars. 391–585. Moreover, in SHB the parallels from the two blocs are not found as discrete, integral units simply joined together into one bloc but are interwoven together in a fashion that is hard to explain.

There are other striking indications that Freimann oversimplified matters. As mentioned earlier, Freimann found two blocs in SHP on the Sabbath: pars. 589–637 and 1764–1784. If we look for the parallels in SHB, we discover that material from the first bloc is SHB, pars. 262–272, but that the parallels of SHP, pars. 1764–1784 are in SHB, pars. 867–870. In other words, there are two blocs on the Sabbath not only in SHP but also in SHB, and in the Bologna edition they are separated from each other by some six hundred paragraphs. They are not "immediately appended there, without any intervening material," as Freimann claimed; nor is it true that "in ed. Bologna there is only one chapter on each topic."

An examination of the location of the penitential sections in both recensions further weakens Freimann's argument. Here one finds that the relationship of blocs of parallels is the very opposite of Freimann's thesis: material which is *separated* into two blocs in SH*B* is found *together* in SH*P*. Thus in the Parma manuscript the paragraphs on atonement are especially concentrated together in pars. 18–74, but in SHB parallels appear partly in pars. 167–230 and partly in pars. 593–704. Once again, the parallels of the two blocs from SHB are not found as separate blocs in SHP but are interwoven together there. Using Freimann's reasoning, should we not conclude that the two penitential blocs in SHB are from an earlier stage of editing than the single bloc in SHP?

III

The existence of evidence contrary to Freimann's thesis raises the question of how many duplicate blocs of related material exist in the Bologna edition as well as in the Parma manuscript. Despite the relative absence of topical rubrics in the former, content analysis reveals the entire topical organization of SHB and the

presence in ed. Bologna itself of more than one recension of material from *Sefer Ḥasidim*. The discovery of the topical structure of SHB (Table II) and SHP (Table III) requires a major revision of Freimann's conclusions that SHP is an earlier editing of *Sefer Ḥasidim* and per se of greater reliability than SHB.

TABLE II
SHB
(An asterisk indicates a rubric in the text)

Topics	Paragraph Numbers
Sefer ha-Ḥasidut	1–152
SHB I	
1. Introduction:	153–230
a. Reverence	153–166
b. Atonement	167–230
2. The Dead	231–244
3. Harmful Spirits	244–247
4. Prayer	248–261
5. Sabbath	262–272
6. Books	273–284
7. Study	285–314
8. Charity	315–334
9. Honoring Parents	335–346
10. Pietism	347–369
11. Ritual Slaughter, Purity	370–372
12. Women	373–394
13. (Business) Trustworthiness	395–402
14. Bans and Oaths	403–440
SHB II (fragmentary)	
1. The Dead	441–457
2. Harmful Spirits	458–485
3. Women	486–521
4. Pietism	522–560
5. Honoring Parents	561–587

SHB III

1.	Introduction:	588–704
	a. Reverence	588–592
	b. Atonement	593–704
2.	The Dead	705–748
* 3.	Prayer	749–825
4.	Ritual Slaughter, Purity	825–841
* 3a.	More on Prayer	842–856
5.	Sabbath	857–871
6.	Books	872–941
7.	Study	942–1020
* 8.	Proverbs of Solomon in *Sefer Ḥasidim*	1021–1030
9.	Charity	1031–1061
10.	(Business) Trustworthiness	1062–1099
11.	Bans and Oaths	1100–1120
12.	Women	1121–1135
*	"Another *Sefer Ḥasidim*"	1135–1178 [end of book]

This outline shows that SHB itself consists of more than one recension! Moreover, SHB I and III have many topical blocs in common which, despite some deviations, are arranged in the same sequence. Three units are missing in SHB III but are found in a partial recension we are calling SHB II: Harmful Spirits, Honoring Parents, and Pietism. The short section of Ritual Slaughter, Purity is located earlier in III than in I: Women and the two blocs (Business) Trustworthiness and Bans and Oaths are found in reverse order. In addition, SHB III contains an interpolation called "Proverbs of Solomon in *Sefer Ḥasidim*." These differences aside, it is remarkable that many of the topical blocs are the same and appear in I and III in almost the same order.

The outline in Table II is also clearly related to the structure of the Parma manuscript and to the rubrics actually found in that edition. A comparative content analysis of SHB I and of the Parma manuscript up to but not including the blocs of appendices at the end reveals the following structure of the main part of SHP:

TABLE III
(An asterisk indicates a rubric in the text)

SHB I	SHP	
Introduction:		
a. Reve ence	Reverence	1–17
b. Atonement	Atonement	18–26
	Additions	27–36
	Atonement	37–265
The Dead	The Dead	265/6–363
Harmful Spirits	Harmful Spirits	364–390
Prayer	Prayer	391–585...
Sabbath	* Sabbath	589–637
Books	* Books (see par. 721)	638–746
Study	* Study	747–856
Charity	* Charity	857–928
Honoring Parents	* Honoring Parents	929–974
Pietism	Pietism	975–1065
Ritual Slaughter, Purity	Ritual Slaughter, Purity	1066–1083
Women	Women	1084–1193
(Business) Trustworthiness	(Business) Trustworthiness	1194–1269
Bans and Oaths	Bans and Oaths	1270–1385

Table III indicates that both the large first part of the Parma manuscript, SHP I, and ed. Bologna passed through a similar editorial process; that SHP I and SHB I, II, III basically conform to the same pattern, and that similar topics are found in both of them, in the same order.

The presence in SHB as well as in SHP of more than one recension makes it necessary to revise Freimann's thesis that the Parma manuscript is editorially more primitive than ed. Bologna and that the former is earlier and more authentic than the latter. Freimann oversimplified matters because he did not notice that SHB consists of more than one recension. Indeed, our content analysis of the topics in and parallels between SHB and SHP suggests that the two documents are related to each other in a more complex way than Freimann realized.

In our revision of Freimann's thesis, the various recensions in SHB and SHP are abbreviated as follows: SHB I, II, III refer to the complete (I and III) and partial (II) recensions isolated in ed. Bologna; SHP I is the long first section of material in the Parma manuscript, and SHP II refers to the appendices there. If we notice where the parallels from these blocs are found, a significant pattern emerges and this pattern, in turn, has important implications for our understanding of the relationship between SHP and SHB.

Freimann claimed that the Parma manuscript was an older, more reliable recension than ed. Bologna primarily because topically related blocs are found in SHP I and SHP II and are supposedly synthesized into one bloc in ed. Bologna. Our study of the book indicates that this is only partially correct: the parallels of related passages from the two separated blocs in the Parma manuscript are found together in ed. Bologna, but only in SHB III, as in the case of prayer.[44] Freimann did not see that ed. Bologna contains another recension, SHB I, which does not contain parallels from SHP I and II. Freimann also failed to see that SHP I, the large first part of the Parma manuscript, integrates parallels of passages on related topics from passages found separated in ed. Bologna, SHB I and SHB II,III. This means that the larger part of the Parma manuscript, SHP I, and the last recension of ed. Bologna, SHB III, are both composite sources. Each of these recensions contains an amalgam of passages whose parallels are found in pairs of separated blocs in the other document. From the point of view of simplicity or complexity, there is no reason to give to the large first part of the Parma manuscript any greater preference as a source than to the third recension in ed. Bologna. Editorially they are both of a composite nature.

Unlike the composite nature of the first part of the Parma manuscript, SHP I, and the last recension of ed. Bologna, SHB III, the two other major blocs are simpler in their composition. Thus, the appendices in the Parma manuscript, SHP II, and the first

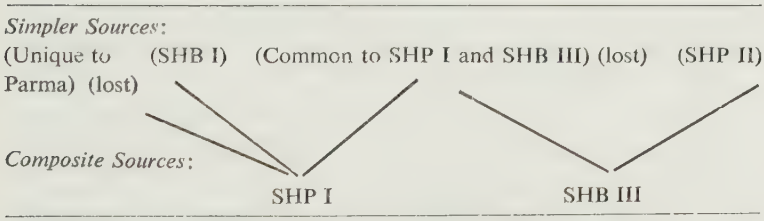
[44] *Ibid.*

complete recension in ed. Bologna, SHB I, usually contain passages whose parallels are found in one other source, not two or more. The parallels to passages in SHP II are usually in SHB II/III alone; those in SHB I are usually found only in SHP I.

Although both documents are alike in containing simpler (SHB I and SHP II) and composite (SHB II/III and SHP I) blocs of material, one additional source was available to the editor of the Parma manuscript which the editor of ed. Bologna lacked. For the Parma manuscript contains a substantial amount of material lacking in ed. Bologna, presumably derived from a source now lost; however, virtually nothing in ed. Bologna is missing from the Parma manuscript.[45]

These observations about the editorial composition of the blocs making up SHP and SHB are represented in Table IV.

TABLE IV[46]



[45] Cf. *ibid.*, 57–73. Apart from SHB, pars. 1–152, which constitute a special bloc of material (see below), most of SHB is found in some form in SHP. A number of additions should be made to Freimann's table of parallels. The first number is the SHB paragraph; the information in parenthesis refers to the SHP number, including page and line references as needed. The are: 28 (38), 159 (13, p. 11 — top), 299 = 1002 (813), 364 (1044, p. 261, lines 9–11), 369 (1055), 395 (1216), 402 (1259), 589 (14, p. 14, lines 16 ff.). These additions still leave about two dozen passages in SHB for which parallels in SHP have not been found.

[46] This pattern holds for the parallels from the thematic blocs on the Dead, Harmful Spirits, Prayer, the Sabbath, Charity, Honoring Parents, Pietism, Ritual Slaughter, Purity, and Women. For the parallels from blocs on Study and Bans and Oaths, there is the difference that SHB I contains parallels from SHP II as well as SHP I. The blocs on Reverence and Atonement are not found at all in SHP II. These differences suggest the independence of the thematic blocs (*maḥbarot*) which were combined into the recensions we now have.

Both SHP I and SHB III are composite blocs in the two final editions of *Sefer Ḥasidim*, and each contains parallels from more than one of the simpler blocs. In the case of SHP I, the main part of the Parma manuscript, an editor used three sources: 1) a bloc of passages uniquely found in the Parma manuscript and now lost (Unique Parma); 2) parallels from the first recension of ed. Bologna (SHB I); and 3) parallels of material found in the two composite blocs (Common to SHP I and SHB III) also now lost.

On the other hand, the editor of SHB III used 1) the same common source (Common to SHP I and SHB III); and 2) appendices to the Parma manuscript, SHP II. Since there is no significant bloc of material unique to ed. Bologna, no Unique to Bologna source is indicated.

Despite the complexity of the above analysis, several clear conclusions follow from it. First of all, it would appear that the two versions of *Sefer Ḥasidim* which have survived, the Parma manuscript and ed. Bologna, contain only some of the sources which the editors of SHP and SHB used. We no longer have the Unique Parma source nor do we have a separate source which corresponds to material common to SHP I and SHB III.

On the other hand, it is remarkable that of the four recensions which we do have, three of them (SHB I, SHB II III, and SHP I) have nearly the same topical structure. In two of them, SHB I and SHP I, the table of contents actually is identical. Only one of the four blocs, the appendices to the Parma manuscript, SHP II, does not conform to the topical structure characteristic of the other recensional blocs, and seems to be constructed instead in a random way. The irregularity of this bloc, in comparison with the topical structure found in the others, as well as a reference in that bloc to *Sefer Ḥasidim*,[47] suggests that SHP II was actually appended to one recension of *Sefer Ḥasidim after* that book was compiled.

It is evident that the appendices did not undergo the same

[47] SHP, par. 1589, p. 388 (bottom).

editorial process as did the other three blocs. Clearly at some time a tradition emerged as to which of the topical notebooks (*maḥbarot*) Judah the Pietist wrote belonged in *Sefer Ḥasidim*, and in which order. Given the absence of any signs of Eleazar of Worms' editoral signature throughout the various recensions,[48] it is plausible to suggest that the topical structure which we have disclosed in three of the four recensional blocs represents the original structure of Judah the Pietist's *Sefer Ḥasidim*.

Further, it is possible that the Parma manuscript and ed. Bologna have not preserved editions of an original *Sefer Ḥasidim*, now lost, but contain at least three recensions of the book itself. This suggestion is supported by a comparison with other writings of *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz* which also seem to have been transmitted in several recensions or collections of material drawn from smaller topical notebooks. Thus, Eleazar of Worms probably composed several penitential tracts, each derived from common sources as well as from some unique to each.[49] So too, his mentor, Judah the Pietist compiled thematic notebooks on various aspects of pietism and may himself have arranged and rearranged specific selections into several recensions. Even if there originally was only one *Sefer Ḥasidim*, now lost, the structure of the original has been preserved in at least three recensions, and it is likely that this structure goes back to Judah the Pietist himself.

In effect, Judah compiled a pietistic code for his followers and scholars should make use of all recensions of that work, as well as of parallels in Judah's biblical commentaries[50] before deciding

[48] See Marcus, "Organization," *passim*.

[49] See Chapter III of Ivan G. Marcus, "Penitential Theory and Practice among the Pious of Germany: 1150-1250," unpublished doctoral dissertation, The Jewish Theological Seminary, 1975, which will be published as *Piety and Society: The Jewish Pietists of Medieval Germany*.

[50] Basic work needs to be done on the biblical exegesis of Judah the Pietist and his circle. For some of the texts, see the uncritical volume edited by Isaak S. Lange, *Peirushei ha-Torah l'R' Yehudah he-Ḥasid* (Jerusalem, 1975) where one can also find references to the still indispensable manuscripts and printed texts. Two studies which take into account the biblical exegesis of the Rhenish Jewish pietists are H. H. Ben Sasson, "Ḥasidei Ashkenaz 'al Ḥalukat Qinyanim

where the best readings are found. Fortunately scholars have already begun to do this,[51] and should continue to do so until we have a complete critical edition of *Sefer Ḥasidim.*

IV

The preceding analysis leads to a word of caution concerning one extraneous element in ed. Bologna: SHB, pars. 1–152. Unfortunately, this bloc constitutes the bulk of the only book-length translation into English claiming to be *Sefer Ḥasidim.*[52] As indicated, these paragraphs constitute a peculiar unit of *Sefer Ḥasidim* traditions.[53] Unlike the rest of ed. Bologna, the parallels from SHB, pars. 1–152 are not found in clusters in SHP. When parallels exist at all, they are scattered all over SHP I and II, and this kind of distribution is unusual.

Moreover, the interpolations noted by Zunz and others[54] from Maimonides and other writers not belonging to Judah the Pietist's circle are almost all found in these paragraphs. Interestingly, the peculiarly ascetic forms of Rhenish Jewish atonement found in SHP are almost all missing in SHB, pars. 1–152.[55] Instead, we find entire chapters of Maimonides' *Hilekhot Teshuvah.*[56] In view of the Maimonidean orientation of this separate tract, it is possible,

Ḥomriyim u-Nekhasim Ruḥaniyim bein Benei ha-Adam," *Zion*, XXXV (1970), 61–79 and Haym Soloveitchik, "Three Themes in the *Sefer Ḥasidim*," *Association for Jewish Studies Review*, I (1976), 311–357.

[51] See Yizhaq Baer, "Ha-Megamah ha-Datit-ha-Ḥevratit shel *Sefer Ḥasidim*," *Zion*, III (1937), 26–29; *idem*, "Shenei Paraqim shel Torat ha-Hashgaḥah be-*Sefer Ḥasidim*," in *Studies in Mysticism and Religion Presented to Gershom G. Scholem* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1967), [Hebrew section], 48, n. 3; Haym Soloveitchik, "Three Themes," 327, n. 48; 343, n. 104,; 344, n. 109, etc.

[52] Scholom Alchanan Singer, ed. and trans., *Medieval Jewish Mysticism: Book of the Pious* (Northbrook, Ill. .: Whitehall, 1971).

[53] See above, pp. 36–37.

[54] Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, 126; Reifmann, *Arbaʿah Ḥorashim*, 7; Epstein, "R. Shmuel he-Ḥasid," I, 258, n. 24; Freimann, "Introduction," 17–18.

[55] The exception is that a part of SHP, pars. 72–74, on confessions, is in SHB, pars. 21–22, 621 and 630.

[56] See Freimann, "Introduction," 17.

as Reifmann suggested, that this bloc was compiled by Rhenish or French Jews[57] who rejected the Rhenish Jewish penitential system[58] in favor of the less ascetic views of Maimonides.

For all of these reasons, SHB, pars. 1–152 should be considered the most contaminated part of SHB and should be used with great caution as a source for Rhenish Jewish life and thought.

[57] The French vernacular expressions are mainly found in the first 152 paragraphs. See SHB, pars. 3, 4, 15, 18, 44, 53, 61, 142; but cf. par. 234. The German expressions are found in the main part of the book [SHB I–III], e.g., pars. 205, 208, 668, 775, 893; but cf. par. 1143. See Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens*, I, 287–288 and 273-280. Although Güdemann showed that Rhenish Jewish authors used French as well as German vernacular expressions, he did not realize that phrases from each language are concentrated in different sources in *Sefer Ḥasidim*.

[58] See A. Rubin, "The Concept of Repentance among the Hasidey Ashkenaz," *Journal of Jewish Studies*, XVI (1965), 161–176 and Marcus, "Penitential Theory and Practice."

THE INFLUENCE OF *SEFER NESTOR HAKOMER* ON MEDIEVAL JEWISH POLEMICS*

By Joel E. Rembaum

Sefer Nestor Hakomer is a small anti-Christian polemical treatise, ostensibly written by a convert from Christianity to Judaism. The book is comprised of arguments that criticize Gospel traditions, Christian theology and Christian religious practices. It appears to be a product of the early Middle Ages, and seems to have been written in an area where Eastern Christian influence prevailed.**

Students of medieval Jewish polemical literature have noted the presence of *Nestor* material in certain later works.[1] Indeed, a survey of medieval Jewish polemics reveals that *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* was an important source of anti-Christian arguments throughout the Middle Ages. The purpose of this study is to demonstrate the centrality of *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* in the tradition of medieval Jewish anti-Christian criticism.

* This paper is dedicated to my teacher and friend, Professor Amos Funkenstein, for whose guidance and encouragement I am most grateful. I also thank Professors Elieser Slomovic and Gerson D. Cohen who read the manuscript of this essay and whose comments on it were most helpful.

** The fixing of a date and a geographic locale for *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* warrants study. For now, see note 9, below, for J. Rosenthal's discussion of this matter.

[1] The presence of material from *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* in later polemics has been noted by the following: 1) F. Talmage, *The Book of the Covenant* (Toronto, 1972), notes to pp. 35–39), has suggested a *Nestor* influence in the SH; 2) J. Rosenthal cites the *Nestor* material in *MH*, notes to pp. 154 ff.; 3) A. Poznanski, Hebrew University-National Library ms. 8° 790 (Jerusalem), p. 12, and J. D. Eisenstein, *Oẓar Wikuḥim* (New York, 1928), p. 310, are aware of the *Nestor* passage in the *QU*; 4) David Berger, in personal correspondence, has confirmed my impression that the *SNY* makes extensive use of *Nestor*.

I

A brief discussion of the nature and contents of *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* may help to explain how this work became so widely circulated and used. Undoubtedly, one reason why it attracted so much interest was the personality of its alleged author and his purpose in writing the book. The work is introduced by an anonymous editor as being the product of a Christian monk or priest (כומר) named Nestor, who converted from Christianity to Judaism. The reader is informed that the work was originally a letter written by Nestor, prior to his conversion, to one of his former colleagues, who sought an explanation for Nestor's planned actions. Following this introduction, Nestor's own statement of his intentions is presented:

"דע שהיו דברים ביני וביניך שלא היו בין אחרים אשר היו לפנינו ושעתידים לעמוד אחרינו בימות המשיח וראוי עלינו לעבוד את ד' מדין האמת ולהבין בדבר נביאיו וחזקני ד' בכל כחי להבינך אמונת הערלים וטעותם אשר טעו בד' ואשר ממרים לו מדברי ישו. את אשר שאלת ממני לכתוב לך את עדותך על האלקים ואיך אמונתי בד'..."[2]

It appears that Nestor, a zealous convert, was eager not only to justify himself but also to convince his former coreligionist to join him in his new-found faith. Nestor's resolve is also seen in two later affirmations of faith:

"ויאמר נאסתור (sic) הכומר גר צדק בוטח אני באלהים ולא בו (וכן) [ששכן (?)] ברחם בטנוף הנדות. ודע כי נסתשר (sic) זה הבין וידע כי שמו של השם ית' וית' הוא אש אוכלה."[3]

"ואני נסתור הכומר מאמין באלהי השמים והארץ ולא בשום נולד ולא באשר יולד ויהא נפשי עם ישראל ולראות בנחמתם ולשיש בשמחתם ויהא חלקי עמהם בזה ובעולם הבא."[4]

[2] *SNH*, p. 1.

[3] *SNH*, p. 10. The scribe seems to have confused the ו and the ש in both נסתור – נסתשר and שכן – וכן.

[4] *SNH*, p. 13.

The medieval Jewish polemicists, in their preparation of responses to the ideological challenge of Christians, must have found *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* an ideal source for arguments. What could be more convincing in questioning a tradition than by employing the criticism raised against it by one who had abandoned that tradition and who had adopted his new faith with such zeal?[5]

While the writers of the Middle Ages could readily accept the authenticity of Nestor the convert's authorship of *Sefer Nestor Hakomer*, modern scholarship must deal with this issue cautiously. It is entirely possible that Nestor was a converted monk who launched an attack on his former religion. The examples of Bodo-

[5] Both Jacob ben Reuven, *MH*, p. 154, and Duran, *QU*, p. 7b, emphasize Nestor's conversion to Judaism. Jacob ben Reuven comments: "והנה השאלה הזאת שאלת נסתור הכומר בטרם שובו אל ה' ונתגייר עליה". Duran writes: "והנה נסתור הכומר נתגייר כי טען אליהם". It should be noted, however, that Duran took this *Nestor* source from Jacob ben Reuven, as a comparison of texts indicates. Duran borrows from many different sources, often referring to them by name. Halevi's *Kuzari* is mentioned on p. 3b, Maimonides on p. 8a, Rashi on p. 12b and Ibn Gabirol on p. 15a. He also uses sources without citing them. For example, he incorporates passages from the *MH*; cp. *MH*, pp. 142–144 and *QU*, p. 6a; *MH* pp. 155–156 and *QU*, pp. 6a–6b. The latter passage is comprised of other arguments from *SNH* which Duran adapted from Jacob ben Reuven. Duran relies heavily on material from Profiat Duran's *Sefer Klimat Hagoyim*; cp. for example, *QU*, p. 7a and *Sefer Klimat Hagoyim* II, 2, in Eisenstein, *Oẓar*, p. 265. Eisenstein notes Simeon's use of Profiat's work; cf. *op. cit.*, p. 260. The *QU* is a section of Duran's *Magen Avot*, which J. Guttmann has analyzed in "Die Stellung des Simon ben Zemach Duran in der Geschichte der Jüdischen Religious-philosophie", *MGWJ*, LII (1908), 641–672; LIII (1909), 46–97, 199–228; and cf. LIII, 220–228, regarding the material that became the *QU*. For biographical information on Duran cf. I. Epstein, *The Responsa of Rabbi Simon b. Zemah Duran* (London, 1930), and *EJ*, VI, 302 ff. Similar use of a convert's critique of his former religion can be found in Peter the Venerable of Cluny's dependence upon the arguments raised by Petrus Alfonsi in his *Dialogus Petri et Moysi Judaei*; cf. A. L. Williams, *Adversus Judaeos* (Cambridge, 1935), p. 393; S. Lieberman, *Shkiin* (Jerusalem, 1970), pp. 27 ff.; Ch. Merhavia, *The Church versus Talmud and Midrashic Literature* (Jerusalem, 1970), pp. 93–152 (Hebrew).

Eliezer[6] and Moshe-Petrus Alfonsi[7] demonstrate that such activity did take place. However, given the questions that have been raised regarding the authenticity of certain polemical works,[8] one must allow for the possibility that *Nestor* was written by a Jew, strictly for Jewish consumption.[9]

The authorship of Nestor is not the only factor which explains the popularity of the book among medieval Jewish critics of Christianity. The scope of the critique of Christian ideas and sources found in the work is quite broad. The writer's principal purpose is to point out the unacceptibility of the belief in Jesus' divinity, especially when that notion is compared with the concepts associated with the God of Israel.[10] In the course of developing this critique the author attacks the Trinity, noting the problems inherent in the notions of the pre-existence of the Son with the Father and the separation of the persons during the incarnation.[11] He questions certain Christological beliefs, such as the concept of the absolute perfection of Jesus' humanity and divinity.[12] Christian rituals and morals are also the target of the author's barbs, as he accuses Christians of deviating from both the laws of Moses and the teachings of Jesus.[13]

Most of *Nestor's* criticism of Christianity stems from the writer's interpretation of NT traditions. The book contains quotations and

[6] Cf. B. Blumenkranz, "Un pamphlet juif medio-latin de polemique antichretienne", *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, XXXIV (1954), 401 ff.

[7] Cf. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 233 ff; Merhavia, *op. cit.*, pp. 93–127.

[8] Cf. A.B. Hulen, "The 'Dialogues With the Jews' as Sources for the Early Argument Against Christianity", *JBL*, LI (1932), 58–70; R. J. Zvi Werblowsky "Crispin's Disputation", *JJS*, XI (1960), 69–77.

[9] J. Rosenthal, "Sifrut havikuaḥ ha'antinoṣrit 'ad sof hame'ah hashmoneh-'esrei", *'Areshet*, II (1960), 173, has characterized *Nestor* in these terms: "...זהו ספר וויכוח אפוקריפי מיוחס אל כומר בשם נסתור". Among the elements in *Nestor* that may indicate a Jewish hand at work is the reference to the הכרזה, "announcement", associated with Jesus' crucifixion, *SNH* pp. 9–10. This reflects the influence of the Rabbinic tradition in *BT* Sanhedrin 43b. It is hard to conceive of why a convert from Christianity writing to another Christian would allude to such a tradition.

[10] *SNH*, p. 1.

[11] *SNH*, p. 3.

[12] *SNH*, pp. 3, 5.

[13] *SNH*, pp. 7–8.

paraphrases of and allusions to passages from all four of the canonical Gospels. The four evangelists are often referred to by name.[14] A striking example of the author's familiarity with the different Gospel traditions is his awareness of the two accounts of the piercing of Jesus:

"ויש מכם מעידים כי מת קודם הדקרו בחרב וברומח. ויש מכם אומרים אחרי הדקור בחרב מת ולא עמדו על בירור אחד."[15]

The writer has in mind John 19, 34, which notes that Jesus was pierced after he died, and the addition to Matthew 27, 49, which reports that the piercing occurred before his death.[16] He also, on occasion, cites specific chapters of the various Gospel books. The inaccuracy of some of these citations notwithstanding, it is hard to conceive of a writer quoting Christian Scripture in so detailed a fashion unless he had some familiarity with the actual text.[17]

Sefer Nestor Hakomer also contains allusions to Pauline material, although the Epistles are not referred to by name. For example, the author refers to the interpretation of Psalms 110, 1, found in Hebrews 1, 13:

"...כי כן אמר פוולוש בספר טעותכם גם כן אמר בפסוק נאום ה' לאדוני שב לימיני עא"א אדום רגליך (sic) ואמר שעלה אותו האיש וישב על ימינו של אלוה..."[18]

[14] *SNH*, pp. 6, 7, 9, 10, etc.

[15] *SNH*, pp. 7, 10.

[16] On the two versions of the piercing of Jesus see W. C. Allen (ed.), *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to S. Matthew* (Edinburgh, 1957), p. 299, note to v. 49.

[17] Cf., for example, the citations in *SNH*, p. 5. Many are in error. It is quite possible that such errors are due to scribal inaccuracy. It is also possible that NT passages were cited by the author from memory. One can find a similar phenomenon of mistaken Biblical citations in the NT itself. Certain old ms. versions of Matthew 13, 35 ascribe a passage from Psalms 78, 2 to Isaiah. Commenting on the verse from Matthew 13, Jerome suggests that a scribal error occurred; cf. *PL*, XXVI, 95 and cf. Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 152, 154. M. S. Enslin, *The Literature of the Christian Movement* (New York, 1956), p. 398, however, argues that this lapse was due to the evangelist quoting from memory.

[18] *SNH*, p. 5.

The breadth of the critique in *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* and especially the extensive use of NT sources undoubtedly made the book very attractive to the later Jewish polemicists. They found in *Nestor* ready-made criticism based on the sacred Scriptures of Christianity. It may also be suggested that there was some hesitance on the part of the medieval Jews to refer directly to the text of the NT.[19] If this was, indeed, the case, then *Nestor* would have been all the more useful by serving as an intermediary source of NT traditions which minimized the need for direct reference to Christian Scriptures.

The critique of Christianity in *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* is considerably enriched by the incorporation of traditions from a number of the sources that comprise the NT Apocrypha. Scattered through the work are details from the "Gospels of Thomas", the "Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew", the "History of Joseph the Carpenter", the "Infancy Gospels", the "Protevangelium of James", the "Gospel of Nicodemus" and the "Reports of Pilate".[20]

The following passages from *Nestor* will serve as examples to demonstrate the presence of apocryphal traditions in the work. In

[19] Even Jacob ben Reuven, who referred extensively to Gospel sources, felt the need to apologize for his use of the NT in his book; cf. *MH*, p. 141. It may also be suggested that the incorporation by Jewish writers of inexact citations of NT passages taken from extant Jewish polemical sources in place of direct quotations from the Gospels themselves can be explained by this hesitance to turn directly to the text of the NT. For examples of such borrowing cf. note 5, above, and notes 31 and 63, below. There are also Rabbinic dicta which would tend to restrict Jews from referring directly to the NT. Cf. Tosefta Shabbat 13, 5, Tosefta Yadaim 2, 13 and BT Shabbat 116a as cited in R. Rabbinovicz, *Diqduqey Sofrim* (Jerusalem, 1960), II, 259–260. For discussions of the allusions to Gospel material in these Rabbinic sources see S. Lieberman, *The Tosefta, Order Moed* (New York, 1962), p. 58, note to line 18; *idem*, *Tosefta KiFshuta*, Part III: *Order Moed* (New York, 1962), pp. 206 207; G. F. Moore, *Judaism* (Cambridge, 1958), I, 243–244; III, 67. A more comprehensive study on the attitudes of medieval Jewish polemicists toward direct use of the NT is a desideratum.

[20] For a rather complete treatment of the development of the NT Apocrypha with translations into English cf. E. Hennecke and W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, 2 Vols. (Philadelphia, 1963, 1964).

a criticism of the Trinity which questions the unity of the will of the three persons, the writer cites the following reference:

"וכתוב בספר טעותכם המקלל את הבן והאב ויתכפר לו כאשר יתחרט והמקלל את רוח הקדש בהתחרט לא יתכפר לו בזה ובבא וכן הוא בלשונם." [21]

At first blush this appears to be a paraphrase of Matthew 12, 32 (and parallels).[22] While it is likely that the author had this NT passage in mind, the rendering in *Nestor* reflects the apocryphal "Gospel of Thomas" 88, 26–31:

> "Jesus said: 'He who blasphemes the Father will be forgiven, and he who blasphemes the Son will be forgiven, but he who blasphemes the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven, either in earth or in heaven'."[23]

The influence of the "Gospel of Thomas" tradition can be seen in two aspects of the statement in *Sefer Nestor Hakomer*: 1) The addition of the term האב, "the Father"; 2) the modification of the canonical NT term, "Son of Man", to הבן, "the Son". The apocryphal version contains a trinitarian nuance not found in the verse from the NT. Hence, it is quite understandable why the author of *Nestor* would incorporate the apocryphal version of this statement by Jesus into his criticism of trinitarian ideology.

Another instance of NT Apocrypha influence is evident in an argument in *Nestor* which points out the contradictions associated with Joseph's role as Jesus' father. In the course of this discussion the author comments:

"הלא כי יוסף העד אמר לא ידעתי את מרים שהורתה." [24]

This appears to be a paraphrase of a passage from the "Prot-

[21] *SNH*, p. 3.

[22] Cp. Luke 12, 10 and Mark 3, 29. In Hebrews 6, 4–6 and 10, 26–30 guilt against the Son of God and the Holy Spirit is not forgiven.

[23] Cf. R. M. Grant, *The Secret Sayings of Jesus* (Garden City, 1960), p. 156, no. 45.

[24] *SNH*, p. 9.

evangelium of James" 15, 4. During an interrogation by the High Priest, subsequent to Mary's conception, the following dialogue takes place:

> "... and Joseph said: '(As true as it is that) the Lord my God lives and that his Christ lives and the Witness of his truth, I am pure of (relations with) her.' And the High Priest said: 'Do not bear false witness, but speak the truth'."[25]

In both *Nestor* and the "Protevangelium", Joseph denies having had relations with Mary. And, in both, the denial is made in a statement given in testimony.

Perhaps the writer's familiarity with traditions from the NT Apocrypha can best be seen in statements which incorporate apocryphal elements in an *en passant* manner, where these details are not central to the argument. Such is the case in the following two passages from *Nestor*, extracted from critiques which attempt to prove that Jesus was human and not divine:

"...כי נצרת היא כפר ישו והעידו כי ישו בן מרים היה ואחיו יעקב ויהודה ואחיותיו נשואות שמה בגליל בנצרת." [26]

"והנה העידו עליו אנשי נצרת בגליל ואמרו מניין לישו החכמה והגבורה הלא בן הנגר הוא אשר אחיו ואמו ואחיותיו נשואות אצלינו." [27]

The first statement appears to be a rendition of Mark 6, 3, while the second is closer to Matthew 13, 55. However, it seems as if another source has intruded here, for the *Nestor* statements depict Jesus' sisters as being married. This notion is not found in the canonical NT. It is recorded in the apocryphal "History of Joseph the Carpenter", chapter 11:

> "Now Justus and Simeon, the elder sons of Joseph, were married and had families of their own. Both the daughters

[25] Cf. H. de Strycker, *La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques* (Brussels, 1961), pp. 136-137; cf. also A. Walker (trans.), *Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Revelations* (Edinburgh, 1890), p. 15.

[26] *SNH*, p. 11.

[27] *SNH*, p. 12.

> were likewise married and lived in their own houses. So there remained in Joseph's house Judas and James the Less and my virgin mother."[28]

In fact, two elements in the *Nestor* passages have their parallels in the apocryphal account: 1) The reference to the married status of Jesus' sisters; 2) the singling out of the brothers James and Judas.

At least six other NT Apocrypha traditions can be found in *Sefer Nestor Hakomer*.[29] How the author learned of these traditions cannot be precisely determined. Such traditions were very popular in the early Middle Ages,[30] and there must have been ample opportunities for the writer of *Nestor* to come into contact with them. It is practically impossible to ascertain whether or not the author knew the difference between canonical and apocryphal traditions. He did, after all, write a polemic and not a scientific textual study. He would have been most concerned with the fact that these accounts and ideas were widely known among the Christians and that their inclusion in his critique would serve to strengthen his arguments. The later Jewish polemicists must have viewed some of

[28] Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[29] Cp. the account of Jesus carrying the cross in *SNH*, p. 10, and its parallel in the "Gospel of Nicodemus", in Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 158. In both of these sources Jesus' weakening under the weight of the cross is emphasized. These accounts differ from the harmonized version in the *Diatessaron* 51, 15–16; cf. *Ante-Nicene Fathers* (New York, 1898), IX, 122. In the latter no reference is made to Jesus' weakening. Cp. the three references to the midwife Salome in *SNH*, pp. 11, 13 and the parallels in the "Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew", in Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 32, the "History of Joseph the Carpenter", *op. cit.*, p. 65 and the "Protevangelium of James", *op. cit.*, pp. 11–12, (and also in Strycker, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–167). Cp. the allusion to Judas' wife as an influence on his betrayal of Jesus in *SNH*, p. 9 and a similar story in a Coptic text associated with the "Gospel of Bartholemew"; cf. Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *op. cit.*, I, 505. Cp. the reference to Herod, Cain and Judas in Hell in *SNH*, p. 10, and the account in the Coptic "Bartholemew" tradition; cf. *ibid.*, p. 506.

[30] On the popularity of the NT Apocrypha stories, cf. Hennecke-Schneemelcher, *op. cit.*, pp. 307, 368, 406, etc.

these arguments in *Nestor*, with their allusions to details from the NT Apocrypha, as additional ammunition for their attacks on Christianity. It is likely that many of the later Jewish writers could not distinguish between the canonical and the apocryphal Gospel traditions. Few of them reflect a thorough enough familiarity with the NT to be able to make such distinctions.[31]

II

From among the Jewish anti-Christian polemics of the later Middle Ages seven sources, spanning the period of *circa* 1170–1325, will now be examined. Each of these works contains arguments borrowed from or influenced by *Sefer Nestor Hakomer*. We will briefly discuss these writings and evaluate their contents. Such a survey will help to familiarize the reader with the genre of polemical literature and will provide a background against which the analysis presented in section III will take on greater clarity.

The earliest polemics which contain elements from *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* were compiled in Southern France around 1170. The *Sefer Habrit* was written by Joseph Kimḥi in Narbonne.[32] This book was intended to serve as a sort of handbook of responses to ideological challenges posed by Christians, especially those raised

[31] The argument cited above, in note 21, with the modified version of Matthew 12, 32, was incorporated in the *MH*, p. 153, the *SYH*, pp. 127, 137, and the *SNY*, p. 142. A review of a number of polemics from the period 1150–1350 indicates that the great majority of references to NT traditions are to those from the book of Matthew. Allusions to other NT books are considerably less frequent. Moreover, there is much borrowing of NT references from extant Jewish polemical works; cf. note 19, above. (Later polemics, such as Duran's *Sefer Klimat Hagoyim* and Isaac of Troki's *Ḥizzuq 'Emunah*, do reflect the author's intimate familiarity with a broad scope of NT sources.) This being the case it is reasonable to suggest that many Jewish polemicists would not have had sufficient contact with NT material and traditions to be in a position to differentiate between canonical and apocryphal Gospel sources and ideas.

[32] Cf. Talmage, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 18. For general biographical information on Kimḥi cf. A. Geiger, "Ma'amar al R. Yosef Kimḥi", *Oṣar Neḥmad*, I (1856), 97–119; II (1857), 98 f.; III (1860) 114, and Talmage, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–26.

by converts from Judaism.[33] While the book is primarily concerned with refuting Christian interpretations of the OT, there are also a few passages from the NT that are incorporated by Kimḥi into his arguments. In the course of his argumentation, which is presented in the form of a dialogue between a "believer" (מאמין) and a "sectarian" (מין), the author uses the Bible to question key aspects of Christian doctrine. He also levels an attack against Christian morality and defends Jewish morality, including the ethics of Jewish money lending.[34]

Contemporaneous with *Sefer Habrit*, and from the same general locale, is the *Milḥamot Hashem* of Jacob ben Reuven. The date found most often on the colophons of the manuscripts of this work is 1170.[35] It is likely that at that time Jacob ben Reuven was living in Gascogne, probably having emigrated from Spain during the Almohade conquest, just as Kimḥi had done.[36] The scope of Jacob's criticism of Christianity is far broader than that of Kimḥi, and the arguments are much more penetrating. The *Milḥamot Hashem* is presented by the author as a report of a private discussion he had with a monk.[37] The author indicates that his work was written to defend Jews who lacked wisdom from the influence of Christianity.[38]

Jacob argues that both reason and scripture serve to demonstrate God's unity. Thus, it is his aim to refute the Christian belief in the Trinity by employing "right reason" (שכל ישר) and a correct understanding of the Bible.[39] The author then launches his two-pronged critique of Christianity, which, like the *Sefer Habrit*, takes the form of a dialogue between a Jew and a Christian.

[33] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 27–28.

[34] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 87–88, for the Biblical passages incorporated into the *SH*. On Kimḥi's comparison of Christian and Jewish morality and his discussion of the ethics of Jewish money lending, cf. *SH*, pp. 20b–22a.

[35] *MH*, p. viii.

[36] *MH*, pp. ix–x.

[37] *MH*, pp. xiii, xix, 4 ff.

[38] *MH*, p. 4.

[39] *MH*, pp. 4–5.

The first chapter of the book[40] is dedicated to a philosophical criticism of the Trinity. In chapters 2–10,[41] which comprise the bulk of the book, Jacob ben Reuven systematically works his way through the Bible, criticizing various Christological interpretations of OT passages. In the eleventh chapter[42] the author cites numerous NT passages to point out absurdities in the Gospel traditions and in key elements of Christian doctrine. The last chapter[43] is a philosophical demonstration which seeks to prove that the Messiah had not yet come and to verify certain notions relating to the nature of the world, including the principle of *creatio ex nihilo*.

Another polemic that bears the mark of *Nestor* influence is the *Vikuaḥ Laradaq*.[44] Although this short work has been ascribed to David Kimḥi, the son of Joseph Kimḥi, there is a question as to its true authorship.[45] We may suggest *circa* 1200 as a *terminus a quo* for this treatise, since its first section contains material from David Kimḥi's commentary on Psalms, which was completed sometime after 1205.[46] This date is also consistent with another aspect of the polemic, namely, the allusions to Cathar notions.[47] The area in which the *Vikuaḥ* was composed cannot be conclusively determined.[48] Included in the *Vikuaḥ* are arguments against both

[40] *MH*, pp. 7–22.

[41] *MH*, pp. 23–140.

[42] *MH*, pp. 141–156.

[43] *MH*, pp. 157–185.

[44] On the *VL*, cf. F. Talmage, "An Hebrew Polemical Treatise, Anti-Cathar and Anti-Orthodox", *HTR*, LX (1967), 323–348.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 323.

[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 324, 326, 338 ff. Also, cf. A. Geiger, "Toledot Haradaq", *Oṣar Neḥmad*, II (1857), 165; L. Finkelstein (ed.), *The Commentary of David Kimhi on Isaiah* (New York, 1926), pp. xix–xx. The date 1200 would allow for the possibility that David Kimḥi was the author of the *Vikuaḥ* and that he could have incorporated elements of his commentary on Psalms into the *Vikuaḥ*, even before he actually published the commentary.

[47] Talmage, *op. cit.*, pp. 326, 327 ff.

[48] Talmage, *op. cit.*, pp. 325–326, notes that the spelling of certain Hebrew transliterations in the *Vikuaḥ* conform to the spelling of Northern Italian Hebrew transliterations. One must be cautious in using this factor in determining the area in which the *Vikuaḥ* was composed. The Hebrew text of the

heretical and orthodox Christian teachings, as well as critiques of Christian OT exegesis and NT traditions.

A fourth anti-Christian work in which elements of *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* can be found is the *Sefer Yosef Hamekane*. This book is an anthology of polemics which developed within the circle of the Official family of France during the 12th and 13th centuries.[49] It was compiled by Joseph ben Nathan Official in the middle of the 13th century,[50] and is divided into two main sections.[51] The first, which is by far the longest, is a response to christological interpretations of the OT,[52] while the second employs references to the NT as vehicles for criticizing Christian doctrine.[53]

The fifth polemical tract is the *Milḥemet Miṣvah*, generally ascribed to Meir ben Simeon of Narbonne. This work was compiled soon after 1270 and is a collection of arguments against Christianity and in defense of Judaism composed between the years 1245 and 1270. It contains records of disputations, private and public, and a "letter" to King Louis IX of France denouncing his treatment of the Jews. The author attacks Christian OT interpretations and criticizes the NT, using it to raise questions relating to Christian ideology. He is also a vigorous defender of the economic and social rights of French Jewry.[54] Meir, like the Kimḥis

Vikuaḥ is late, having been published in 1710, in Constantinople. Who can say how many changes took place in the text with the passage of time? However, Talmage's references to the "Ambrosian" psalter (pp. 326, 342) merit consideration.

[49] *SYH*, pp. xiii–xiv.

[50] *SYH*, pp. xv–xx.

[51] See the passages cited, *SYH*, pp. 7–13, where the division of the book is outlined.

[52] *SYH*, pp. 29–121.

[53] *SYH*, pp. 125–137.

[54] *MM* material can be found not only in ms. Parma 2749, but also in ms. Breslau 59; cf. A. Poznanski's manuscript copy of ms. Breslau 59 in Hebrew University-National Library ms. 8° 773, in which the following *MM* passages can be found: pp. 41–55 = *MM* pp. 108b–120a; pp. 55–56 = *MM*, pp. 138a–139a; pp. 56–59 = *MM*, pp. 143b–146b; pp. 59–61 = *MM*, pp. 148b–149b; pp. 61–62 = *MM*, pp. 221a–222a; pp. 62–63 = *MM*, p. 224a. Selections of the *MM* have been published in M. Y. Blau, *Shitat haqadmonim... v'sefer*

and Jacob ben Reuven before him, was a moderate rationalist, and many of his critiques reflect this orientation.[55] The author's accounts of his associations and discussions with Christian clergymen resemble similar references in the works of Jacob ben Reuven and Joseph ben Nathan Official.[56] And, like Joseph Kimḥi and Joseph ben Nathan, he has an intimate awareness of the problems raised by Jewish apostates who became active polemicizers against their former faith.[57]

milḥemet miṣvah (New York, 1973), pp. 305–357. Aspects of the *MM* are discussed in the following literature: S. Stein, "A Disputation on Moneylending between Jews and Gentiles in Meir b. Simeon's Milhemeth Miṣwah", *JJS*, X (1959), 46–61; *idem Jewish-Christian Disputations in Thirteenth Century Narbonne* (London, 1969); R. Chazan, "A Jewish Plaint to Saint Louis", *HUCA*, XLV (1974), 287–305; *idem*. "Anti-Usury Efforts in Thirteenth-Century Narbonne and the Jewish Response", *PAAJR*, XLI–XLII (1975), 45–67.

[55] There are numerous references in the *MM* to the virtues of reason: for example: pp. 93b–94a; pp. 97a–b; p. 101a. On the need to understand the Talmud through reason, cf. pp. 215b–216b. Meir criticized the mystical *Sefer Habahir*; cf. 228b ff. He refers to both Maimonides and Halevi on pp. 240 ff. Cf. Stein. *Disputations*, pp. 21 f., for a characterization of Meir's rationalistic approach.

[56] Cf. *MM*, pp. 56a–58a, 83a–84a. Favorable relations with Christian clergy are referred to on pp. 215b, 226b, 228b.

[57] Cf. *MM*, pp. 215b, 224a–b, 226b–227a. One element of the *MM* that is particularly worthy of study is Meir's discussion with Archbishop Guy Fulcoldi, probably held between 1259 and 1261. In this discussion, reported on pp. 214a–228a of the *MM*, the Talmud is used by the Christians to criticize Jewish economic activity, to evaluate Jewish political privileges and to prove the legitimacy of Christianity. Particularly striking are the instances when Jewish apostates refer to Talmudic sources to argue in favor of the legitimacy of the "new law" of the NT and the passing of the "old law" of the OT. (pp. 224a–224b). (It should also be noted that on p. 46a a priest, in a gentlemanly discussion with Rabbi Meir, is reported as having sought support for the viability of Christianity from the passage in BT Shabbat, 104a, "שקרא לא קאי".) At one point the Archbishop himself cites the Talmudic principle of דינא דמלכותא דינא to argue for the legality of Louis IX's absolute control of Jewish property. Here the Talmud is invoked by a Christian in defense of medieval feudalism (p. 228a). Cf. the literature cited above, n. 54, for further evaluation of these discussions. The material indicates that Christians were using the Talmud to support Christianity in face-to-face debates with Jews even before the Barcelona disputation of 1263.

At about the same time that Meir was completing the *Milḥemet Miṣvah* in Narbonne, another Jew, Sa'd Ibn Mansur Ibn Kammūna, was writing his *Tanqīḥ al-abhāṭ li-l-milal al-ṭalāṭ, Examination of the Inquiries into the Three Faiths.* Completed in Bagdad in 1280, this book presents an evaluation of Judaism, Christianity and Islam in an attempt to indicate the legitimacy of Judaism and the deficiencies of the other two faiths.[58] In the third chapter of the work Ibn Kammūna discusses Christianity, first criticizing different trinitarian and Christological concepts then turning to a critique of Gospel traditions and interpretations of OT prophecies used by Christians to support certain aspects of their doctrine.[59] The influence of *Nestor* can be seen in the arguments relating to the Gospels. Like the polemicists of Southern France, Ibn Kammūna is familiar with Jewish rationalistic thinking.[60]

Another Jewish polemic which contains material from *Nestor* is the *Sefer Niṣaḥon Yashan.*[61] This anonymous anthology of Jewish anti-Christian arguments was compiled in Germany, probably in the late 1200's or the early 1300's.[62] It incorporates many traditions that came out of the Official polemical school, as well as arguments drawn from other sources.[63] Following a familiar pat-

[58] *IK*, pp. 1–3.

[59] *IK*, pp. 78–99.

[60] *IK*, pp. 4–5.

[61] Cf. J. C. Wagenseil, *Tela ignea Satanae* (Altdorf, 1681), which is a compilation of Jewish anti-Christian polemics and an important source for the study of Christian Hebrew scholarship in the 16th and 17th centuries.

[62] On the date of the work and the locale in which it originated, cf. E. E. Urbach, "Etudes sur la littérature polemique au moyen-age", *REJ*, C (1935), 72; Rosenthal, "Sifrut", p. 173. H. H. Ben-Sasson, *History of the Jewish People*, Vol. II, *The Middle Ages* (Tel Aviv, 1969), p. 166 (Hebrew), notes that the arguments contained in the work are from the 12th and 13th centuries. A student of the *SNY*, David Berger, in a personal letter of February 10, 1974, has suggested that the book may have been compiled as late as the early 14th century.

[63] On the relationship of the *SNY* to the polemics of the Officials see *SYH*, pp. xiii-xv. *SNY* also contains arguments from the *MH*; cp. *MH*, p. 150 and *SNY*, pp. 212–213, where both the arguments and the terms used are very similar.

tern, the author devotes most of his energy to a critique of Christian OT interpretation. This criticism comprises the bulk of the work, and it is more or less organized according to the order of the books of the Bible.[64] Still, the NT criticism in the *Sefer Niṣaḥon* is quite extensive; in fact, in sheer volume, the *Sefer Niṣaḥon* contains more discussion of NT material than any other source reviewed in this study.[65] In both sections, various aspects of Christian doctrine are challenged in much the same fashion as one finds in the polemics discussed above.

The extent to which *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* was valued by medieval Jewish polemicists as a handbook for anti-Christian criticism is evident from both the chronological and geographic scope of its usage. *Nestor* material was referred to for at least 150 years. The Jews who used *Nestor* lived in Southern France, Northern France, Germany and Iraq. Given the centrality of religious thought and discussion in the Middle Ages, and given the role played by *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* as a source for such discussion, this work emerges as an important medieval Jewish literary creation.

III

In specifying the particular passages from *Nestor* that were incorporated into the later polemical literature we will emphasize only explicit evidence of *Nestor* influence. Since most of the sources do not explicity refer to *Nestor*, we cannot be sure of the exact form in which these traditions were received. However, the fact that the polemics to be discussed use different *Nestor* arguments precludes the suggestion that one author borrowed from any of the other writers cited below. It would then follow that either a number of *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* texts, complete or otherwise, were in circulation or that a number of unknown secondary carriers of *Nestor* arguments existed. In either case, there must have been numerous conduits through which *Nestor* traditions reached the various polemicists.

[64] *SNY*, pp. 3–186.
[65] *SNY*, pp. 186–249.

It is all but impossible to estimate the full extent to which *Nestor* influenced the general development of the genre of critical polemics. Many points of criticism not found in *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* could have been spawned by the tone and themes of the arguments in the book. Reason would suggest that the impact of this work on the development of Medieval Jewish anti-Christian polemics was far greater than what is reflected in the parallels to be noted.

Kimḥi's *Sefer Habrit* deals primarily with Christian arguments which are based on the OT, and such criticism is rather scarce in *Nestor*. Still, there is a series of arguments in *Sefer Habrit* which parallels certain statements in *Nestor*. Not only are these arguments similar to points raised in *Nestor*, but they also fall in a sequence that is almost the same as that of their parallels.[66] Kimḥi uses these arguments somewhat differently than does *Nestor*'s author; however, this does not negate the suggestion of his dependence on *Nestor*. Thus, the latter quotes Isaiah 42, 28, "לא יעף ולא יגע", to contrast God with Jesus, whom he sees as tiring on the cross. In *Sefer Habrit* the author cites the verse as part of a general statement of his faith in God and, only by implication, questions Jesus' divinity. Further on in *Nestor* the author challenges the necessity of Jesus' descent into hell to save the souls of the righteous. Included in this context is the following listing of personalities:

"...אדם ונח ואברהם יצחק ויעקב משה אהרן דוד ושלמה ושאר נפשות הנביאים והצדיקים."

Kimḥi incorporates into the aforementioned declaration of faith a similar list of righteous men:

"...אדם הראשון אברהם יצחק יעקב משה אהרן דוד ושלמה וכל הצדיקים והנביאים."

Both writers stress the fact that these Biblical figures lived before Jesus and were still righteous people in God's eyes. In *Nestor*, the critique of the notion of the righteous dwelling in hell is concluded with a quotation of Job 34, 10: "חלילה לה' מרשע ושדי מעול".

[66] Cp. *SH*, pp. 22a–22b, and *SNH*, p. 10.

Kimḥi, however, uses this verse to support his rejection of the idea of the incarnation. Finally, both sources include a reference to Exodus 33, 20, where God instructs Moses that man may not look at Him and live. Again, Kimḥi's purpose in citing this verse is different from that of *Nestor*'s author. The former uses it to further reject the concept of an incarnation in a womb: the latter sees it as negating Jesus' divinity. It should be noted that one can also find a declaration of faith and a reference to the untenability of the idea of the incarnation in a womb in this section of *Nestor*. Given the concentration of these elements in both *Nestor* and *Sefer Habrit*, it would seem that Kimḥi was familiar with this *Nestor* material, but that he reworked it into his own arguments.[67]

One need not search very far to find the *Nestor* material that Jacob ben Reuven incorporated into the *Milḥamot Hashem*. He refers to his source by name.[68] The author cites an argument raised in *Nestor* noting the separation of the person of the Son from the other two persons of the Trinity. The thrust of this comment is to question both the unity of the Trinity and the unity of the two natures of Jesus.[69] Jacob then includes two points from *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* to demonstrate, through Jesus' own statements, that Jesus was merely a messenger and not the deity.[70] This section of *Milḥamot Hashem* concludes with abbreviated paraphrases of other *Nestor* passages where Jesus' divinity is further negated through references to Jesus' praying and to other instances when he calls himself something other than God.[71]

These arguments, brought by Jacob ben Reuven in Nestor's name, are preceded by yet another critique taken from *Nestor* which is, however, not identified as having come from that work.[72]

[67] The other parallels with *SNH* in the *SH*, noted by Talmage (see n. 1, above), are plausible, but there is insufficient evidence in the *SH* to reach a final conclusion regarding these analogous passages.

[68] *MH*, pp. 154–156.

[69] Cp. *MH*, p. 154 and *SNH*, p. 3.

[70] Cp. *MH*, p. 155 and *SNH*, p. 4.

[71] Cp. *MH*, pp. 155–156 and *SNH*, p. 5.

[72] Cp. *MH*, p. 153 and *SNH*, p. 3. Cf. Poznanski, ms. 8° 790, p. 11.

This is the same point noted above[73] in which the will of the Triune deity is criticized through a paraphrase of Matthew 12, 32 that bears the markings of a NT Apocrypha tradition. Jacob first cites the passage from Matthew, rendering the cannonical version into a reasonably accurate Hebrew translation. The author makes one deviation from the NT text when he translates "Son of Man" into "the Son". It is in his comment on the Matthew text that Jacob ben Reuven incorporates the criticism from *Nestor*. Jacob even retains elements of the terminology found in the *Nestor* argument. By placing this critique in the *Milḥamot Hashem* before the discussion of the Trinity and Jesus' two natures[74] the author also adheres to the order of these points as they appear in *Sefer Nestor Hakomer*.

These selections from *Nestor*, most of which contain allusions to NT traditions, were added by Jacob ben Reuven to the criticism of Gospel material in chapter 11 of his book. Given the fact that Jacob can reproduce Gospel sources rather accurately, as a review of the Hebrew translations of NT passages in chapter 11 would indicate, why would he incorporate these *Nestor* passages with their paraphrases and modified renderings of NT material? Perhaps this is an indication of the limits of his first-hand acquaintance with the Gospels. It seems that he borrowed from *Nestor* to supplement his critique, and in so doing, incorporated *Nestor* renditions of NT passages in an uncritical manner. It should be noted that the Hebrew translations of Gospel material in chapter 11 of *Milḥamot Hashem* are based on Matthew and, perhaps, Mark. The *Nestor* material cited by Jacob ben Reuven is heavily influenced by Johanine traditions. It may be that Jacob could not correct *Nestor*'s NT citations because he was unfamiliar with the NT sources from which they were taken.[75]

[73] Cf. notes 21–23, above.

[74] Cf. note 69, above.

[75] This suggestion represents a modification of J. Rosenthal's contention that Jacob ben Reuven only translated into Hebrew those passages of the NT which he felt were necessary for his polemical purposes; cf. *idem*, "Tirgum shel habsorah 'al pi matti liya'aqov ben re'uven", *Tarbiz*, XXXII (1962), 50–

Perhaps the writer's dependence on *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* for unfamiliar Gospel material can be seen in the inconsistency of his reference to *Nestor* by name. When Jacob uses a *Nestor* argument in commenting on Matthew 12, 32 he does not refer to *Nestor* by name. In this instance Jacob gives a direct quotation of the Gospel passage. When he does refer to *Nestor*, however, he does not bring a direct quotation from the NT.

Our third source containing elements from *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* is the *Vikuaḥ Laradaq*. The *Vikuaḥ* has a number of general points which parallel certain themes in *Nestor*. For example, Jesus' miracles are compared to those of Elijah and Elisha.[76] Like *Nestor*, the *Vikuaḥ* emphasizes that Jesus' divinity is refuted by the fact that he is called "Son of God".[77] These points are, however, developed differently in the two sources. Hence, a dependence of the *Vikuaḥ* on *Nestor* for these arguments cannot be clearly indicated.

There are, however, in the *Vikuaḥ* two elements of criticism of Jesus' having been born of the Holy Spirit that can be traced to *Sefer Nestor Hakomer*. The author of the *Vikuaḥ* argues that when Herod registered the women in Bethlehem, Mary was asked who impregnated her. She responded: "מיוסף אני הרה".[78] There is no parallel to this story in the NT. The account of the census in Luke 2, 1–7 does not mention a registration of women, nor does it refer to an interrogation of Mary. However, we do find in *Nestor* a discussion of an incident that is almost identical to the account noted in the *Vikuaḥ*, the only difference being that in *Nestor* the census is conducted by Augustus.[79] In *Nestor*, as in the *Vikuaḥ*, the census is directed specifically at the female population. And, when Mary is questioned about her pregnancy, she answers: "מיוסף". That *Nestor* is the source of this story in the

51. Given the manner in which Jacob ben Reuven uses *Nestor*, one wonders if the former's first-hand acquaintance with Gospel material was not more limited than Rosenthal would have us believe.

76 Cp. *VL*, p. 15b and *SNH*, p. 2.

77 Cp. *VL*, pp. 17a–17b and *SNH*, pp. 1, 4, 6.

78 *VL*, p. 17a.

79 *SNH*, pp. 10–11.

Vikuaḥ is further demonstrated by the fact that immediately after the account of the census both *Nestor* and the *Vikuaḥ* recount Gabriel's instructions to Joseph and his family to flee to Egypt.[80] Again, the dependence of the *Vikuaḥ* on *Nestor* is clarified by the fact that the former incorporates details which are variations on the Gospel version, — variations found in *Nestor*. So we find that in *Nestor* Gabriel tells Joseph to flee. In Matthew 2, 13 an unnamed angel appears to Joseph. Gabriel is mentioned only in Luke 1, 26 ff., in the context of the annunciation. Furthermore, in *Nestor* Gabriel tells Joseph: "ולא תירא". These words are not found in Matthew 2. They are found in Luke 2, 10, in response to the surprise of the shepherds when the angel announced Jesus' birth. *Nestor's* account of the angel's ordering Joseph to flee to Egypt represents a conflation of elements from Matthew 2 and Luke 1 and 2. Most important, the author of *Nestor* puts this statement into Gabriel's mouth: "קח את אשתך מרים". He then emphasizes that the use of "אשתך" proves that Mary was Joseph's wife in the fullest sense of the word, that is, one with whom marriage was consummated sexually. This serves to further indicate that Joseph was Jesus' true father. Here again *Nestor* differs from the Gospel sources, for in both Matthew 2, 13 and 2, 20 Mary is referred to as "his mother". In all these details the *Vikuaḥ* follows *Nestor* exactly and makes the same point: Joseph was Jesus' father. Given the eclectic nature of the *Vikuaḥ*,[81] it is not surprising to find in it material drawn from *Sefer Nestor Hakomer*.

The arguments from *Nestor* that Joseph ben Nathan Official included in *Sefer Yosef Hamekane* are found in the second section of the book, which deals with NT traditions.[82] Three points are raised. First, the author questions the will of the Trinity by referring to the rewording of Matthew 12, 32 and the resulting criticism that are found in *Nestor*, as we noted above.[83] Official then ques-

[80] Cp. *VL*, *ibid.* and *SNH*, p. 11.

[81] See the literature cited in n. 46, above.

[82] *SYH*, p. 137.

[83] Cf. notes 21–23, above. It is unlikely that Official drew upon Jacob ben Reuven's version of this argument (cf. n. 73, above), since the language of

tions Jesus' divine nature by comparing him to certain Biblical personalities who, like Jesus, performed miracles. His claim is that the doing of wondrous deeds did not warrant the deification of these Biblical figures and that Jesus' deification is similarly unwarranted. This critique is a summary of a passage in *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* in which Adam, Elisha, Elijah, Moses and others are cited for miraculous acts which surpass those associated with Jesus.[84]

Sefer Yosef Hamekane also borrows from *Nestor* an "excluded middle" argument based on the fact of Jesus' death at the hands of the Jews.[85] Joseph ben Nathan suggests this question: Was that which the Jews did to Jesus done according to his will or against his will? He anticipates two possible responses. If the Christians answer that the Jews acted in conformity with Jesus' will, then Joseph would argue that those who act contrary to his will should be considered sinners. Hence, the Christians who worship Jesus instead of rejecting him sin worse than the Jews. If, however, they respond that the Jews killed Jesus against his will. then he would ask: What kind of a god is Jesus that he could not save himself from his enemies? This discussion is an abbreviated form of a criticism found in *Nestor*. Joseph's dependence on *Nestor* can be clearly demonstrated by parallels in language. Official asks: "מה שעשו לו היהודים מדעתו או משלא דעתו". In *Nestor* we read: "על כל אשר עשו לו היהודים ברצונו היו או בעל כרחו עשו לו". Continuing the question Joseph queries: "והלא המתעב רצונו חוטא הוא". Similarly *Nestor*'s author asks: "אמור לי המתעב משיחכם חטא או האמין". And, in formulating his second point, Official argues: "ואם יאמר שבעל כרחו וכי יש אלוהים שאינו יכול להציל עצמו מיד אויביו". In *Nestor* the question is phrased in these words: "וא"ת שבעל כרחו עשו לו את אשר

the passage in the *SYH* is much closer to the original in *SNH* than it is to that of the *MH*.

[84] *SNH*, p. 2.

[85] Cf. *SNH*, pp. 2–3. Most medieval Jewish polemicists readily accede to the fact of Jewish responsibility for Jesus' death. However, they see no moral wrong in this act, given their denial of Jesus' divinity and messiahship, and given the theological necessity of Jesus' death in Christian doctrine. Cf., for example, *MM*, pp. 25a–b, 95a, 123a; *SNY*, pp. 150–151; *QU*, p. 8b.

לא רצה נראה אלוה מעולם אשר לא יכול להציל עצמו מיד היהודים וערלים ונכרים״.[86] Even though Joseph ben Nathan does not refer to *Nestor* by name, there can be no doubt that he was aware of *Nestor* material.

The allusions to *Nestor* polemic found in the *Milḥemet Miṣvah* of Meir ben Simeon of Narbonne help to shed some light on the type of sources used by medieval Jewish polemicists and how *Nestor* traditions were transmitted. We find in Meir's work the following critique of Jesus' divinity:

״אמר הקדש המול מערלת בשרו בלבו כתו׳ הנה לא ינום ולא יישן שומר ישראל. מכאן תשובה לכם שמי שנאמ׳ עליו ש... (text unclear) וישן וישכר אינו אלוה שכן כתוב באו״ן גיל״י כי הוא הלך לבית משתה של חתן אחד ונשתכר שם וישן עד הבקר והיו מבקשים אותו אמו ואביו ומבואר זה בספר תשובות החכמים עליכם.״[87]

The reader's first reaction might be to regard this account of Jesus' activities as a product of someone's imagination. In fact, there is no such story in the NT. It may be that this is a highly interpretive rendition (or distortion) of the events at the wedding in Cana, recounted in the second chapter of John. R. Meir did not invent this story, nor did he develop it into the criticism which he presents. He borrowed it from a work which he calls ספר תשובות החכמים. It is apparent that he is referring to some kind of manual of anti-Christian polemics. We cannot precisely identify this manual any more than the reference to it in the *Milḥemet Miṣvah*. We can conclude, however, that the unknown compiler of the ספר תשובות adapted elements from *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* for his polemical purposes. This description of Jesus' drinking at the wedding is

[86] Justin the Martyr's rejection of the Jewish claim that they had no choice in killing Jesus indicates that Jews were arguing for the necessity of their role in Jesus' death as early as the 2nd century; cf. Justin's *Dialog with Trypho*, 17, 141. Similarly, the Jewish claim that Jesus' inability to save himself from the Jews proves that he is not a deity represents a very old charge; cf. Celsus, *Alethes Logos*, in H. Chadwick (trans.), *Origen: Contra Celsum* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 92–97.

[87] *MM*, p. 56a.

based on an argument in *Nestor*.[88] In that account Jesus is depicted as being drunk and as sleeping. Moreover, the term בית משתה, "wedding party", is also used in the *Nestor* story. The criticism used by Meir ben Simeon quotes Psalms 121, 4 to assert that God does not sleep and to thus sharpen the contrast between Jesus and God. This verse is also cited in *Nestor*, in the course of the discussion in which reference is made to Jesus at the wedding. We may conclude that ספר תשובות החכמים must have incorporated elements of *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* and became a vehicle for the transmission of *Nestor* material to later Jewish critics of Christianity, including Meir of Narbonne.

The *Milḥemet Miṣvah* has yet another polemical point that can be ascribed to *Nestor*. In a passage where the author demonstrates that Jews, and not Christians, observe ritual immersion according to the law as Jesus did, the following allusion is made:

"על דרך זה עשה ישו כשבא מארץ מצרים שהייתה טמאה ונכנס לארץ ישראל שהיא טהורה וטבל בירדן."[89]

None of the Gospel accounts of Jesus' baptism have this explanation, which is based on the Rabbinic notion of the impurity of lands outside Palestine.[90] Such an interpretation of Jesus' immersion in the Jordan is found in *Nestor*. There we read:

"והעיד עליו לוקא כי שלשים שנה היה דר במצרים והיה שרוי בטומאה עד שהטבילו יואניש בירדן לטהרו וכן הוא בלשונם."[91]

Nestor's author introduces this depiction of the baptism to demonstrate Jesus' dependency on John. This is different from Meir's use of this point. Nevertheless, one can reasonably suggest that Meir's understanding of these events at the Jordan had its origins

[88] *SNH*, p. 11.

[89] *MM*, p. 12a. The same point is made in the *MM*, on pp. 87b–88a, where the author alludes to his earlier statement on p. 12a· cf. Blau, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

[90] On Jesus' baptism cf. Matthew 3, 13 ff.; Mark 1, 9 ff.; Luke 3, 21 f. On the impurity of foreign lands cf. BT Shabbat 14b; PT Pesaḥim I, 6.

[91] *SNH*, p. 7.

in the *Nestor* account and that the author of the *Milḥemet Miṣvah* reworked this notion into his own critique.

In the next two polemical tracts to be surveyed, the *Examination of the Three Faiths* of Ibn Kammūna and the anonymous *Sefer Niṣaḥon Yashan*, we find the most extensive use of *Nestor* material. In Ibn Kammūna's work nearly one-third of the author's criticism of Christianity is comprised of arguments adapted from *Sefer Nestor Hakomer*. Pages 86–93 of Perlmann's English translation of the *Examination* contain twenty-two points that have their parallels in *Nestor*, and, of these, the last eleven fall in the same order as they appear in *Nestor*. To more fully demonstrate Ibn Kammūna's dependence on *Nestor* a list of these parallel arguments is presented in the appendix to this paper.

In the course of his discussions, Ibn Kammūna seeks to present the "pros and cons" of Judaism, Christianity and Islam.[92] The *Nestor* material is incorporated as a series of typical questions that one could ask regarding Christianity. Ibn Kammūna concludes this list with these words: "This is what I see fit to mention of the arguments against the Christians."[93] One gets the impression that the writer is aware of other anti-Christian criticism and that he is selecting those arguments which suit his needs.

A comparison of the manner in which the critiques in *Nestor* and in the *Examination* are phrased indicates that Ibn Kammūna did not cite the *Nestor* material verbatim but, rather, in paraphrastic form. What is striking, however, is the extent to which Ibn Kammūna did retain certain details from *Nestor*, even though they differ from the traditions of the NT. For example, he refers to the married status of Jesus' sisters,[94] and he alludes to Jesus' praying for forty days prior to the temptation.[95]

Another unique aspect of Ibn Kammūna's polemic, also taken from *Nestor*, is the reference to the legend of Helena's finding of the Cross. The importance of this account, which came to play

[92] Perlmann discusses aspects of Ibn Kammūna's technique in *IK*, pp. 1–9.

[93] *IK*, p. 93.

[94] Cf. Appendix, no. 5.

[95] Cf. Appendix, no. 13.

a significant role in Christian lore by lending historicity to the Gospel traditions, is refuted by Ibn Kammūna. He argues that the event occurred centuries after Jesus' death, and that it is not mentioned in the Gospels.[96] The author of *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* cites this tradition and raises the same criticism.[97]

The arguments from *Nestor*, adapted by Ibn Kammūna for his discussion, are representative of the broad spectrum of themes developed by the author of *Nestor* in the course of his critique of Christianity. Among these topics are: Negation of Jesus' divinity, representing the major thrust of the polemic in both *Nestor* and in the material from *Nestor* in the *Examination*;[98] denial of Jesus' efficacy as Savior;[99] criticism of Christian adherence to Jesus' teachings regarding the law;[100] proof of Jesus' human origins;[101] criticism of the faith of the Christians;[102] denial of Jesus' messiahship;[103] demonstration of the contradictory nature of the Gospels;[104] negation of Jesus' prophetic powers;[105] criticism of the justice of the Christian belief in the punishment of human souls;[106] denial of Jesus' status as Son of God.[107] In most of these arguments NT traditions serve as the jumping-off point for the criticism.

Ibn Kammūna seems to have had a rather complete version of *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* before him, since he takes material from practically every page of *Nestor*.[108] Still, *Nestor* is nowhere referred

[96] Cf. Appendix, no. 11. On the legends of the finding of the Cross cf. *CE* IV, 523–524.

[97] *SNH*, p. 8. The text of Berliner's ms. is garbled at this point, but enough of the passage is clear to demonstrate the parallelism with *IK*.

[98] Appendix, nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19.

[99] Appendix, no. 1.

[100] Appendix, no. 4.

[101] Appendix, no. 6.

[102] Appendix, no. 9.

[103] Appendix, nos. 10–22.

[104] Appendix, no. 15.

[105] Appendix, no. 16.

[106] Appendix, no. 20.

[107] Appendix, no. 21.

[108] See the pages from Berliner's text cited in the Appendix.

to by name in the *Examination of the Three Faiths*. This omission is consistent with Ibn Kammūna's eclectic approach, whereby he draws upon various works without citing his sources.[109]

The *Nestor* material in *Sefer Niṣaḥon Yashan* is also easy to trace because the author often paraphrases it very closely and occasionally inserts passages verbatim. In certain cases the sequence of the arguments in the *Sefer Niṣaḥon* is identical to that of *Nestor*. The *Sefer Niṣaḥon Yashan* is an anthology of polemics that is often redundant for the sake of completeness.[110] This being the case, it would seem that the author was aware of certain arguments from *Nestor* and incorporated them into his work, along with a variety of other sources, to provide the reader with a full arsenal of anti-Christian ammunition.[111]

The bulk of the criticism from *Sefer Nestor Hakomer* is concentrated in two sections of the second part of the *Sefer Niṣaḥon*, devoted to discussions of the NT.[112] We first encounter a comparison of Jesus with a number of Biblical heroes. The author's intention is to demonstrate that Jesus' miracles and his title, "Son of God", do not warrant his deification. The order of the arguments, as well as their content, is very similar to parallel criticism in *Nestor*.[113] In some of these cases the author of the *Sefer Niṣaḥon* concludes: "מ"מ אין להאמין בהם". Thus he emphasizes that Jesus is not worthy of man's faith. He lists a series of supernatural deeds ascribed to Jesus:

[109] Cf., for example, Ibn Kammūna's use of the *Kuzari* and the *Guide of the Perplexed* in *IK* chapter 2, pp. 40–77; and cf. Perlmann's notes to this chapter. The anonymity of his sources is further illustrated by his references to other writers in terms such as "later Jewish authors" (p. 57, and cf. n. 27) and "a Jewish author" (p. 67, and cf. n. 43). Further discussion of Ibn Kammūna's sources can be found in *IK*, pp. 5–9.

[110] Cf. the critiques of the Christian interpretation of Isaiah 7, 14 in *SNY*, pp. 83–86, and on pp. 88–91, as examples of the compiler's redundancy, which even results in the inclusion of contradictory arguments.

[111] See n. 63, above.

[112] *SNY*, pp. 233–235, 240–241.

[113] Cp. *SNY*, pp. 233–234 and *SNH*, p. 2.

"על אשר עשה מים יין, והשביע מחמשת ככרי לחם אלף איש. והחייה את המת וריפא את החולים והלך על המי'".[114]

These passages are very similar in language and detail to statements in *Nestor*.[115] The *Sefer Niṣaḥon* does differ from *Nestor* in certain other details and has brief arguments where *Nestor* is more lengthy. This would indicate that the author of the *Sefer Niṣaḥon* did rework the *Nestor* material.

The *Sefer Niṣaḥon* then proceeds to a different attack on Christian claims of Jesus' divinity. The author refers to two NT passages in which Jesus seemingly denies his being God. The first is a paraphrase of Mark 13, 4, 32, in which Jesus says that only God, and not he, knows when the end of days will be. The second is a conflation of passages from John 5, 30–32; 8, 16; 14, 23 (?), in which Jesus says he was sent by God. These same arguments, in this exact order, are found in *Sefer Nestor Hakomer*.[116]

This segment of *Nestor* polemic in the *Sefer Niṣaḥon* concludes with two challenges to Jesus' efficacy as savior. The arguments from *Nestor* include the charge that rather than overcoming sin, Jesus added to the transgressions in the world by causing the Jews to kill him, thereby committing a sin whose magnitude was without parallel. A second *Nestor* criticism asserts that the suffering of Jesus' disciples further demonstrates Jesus' inability to save men from the hands of evildoers. In this last point the author of the *Sefer Niṣaḥon* abbreviates the *Nestor* argument, which associates the suffering of the disciples with the work of the Devil, whom Jesus failed to defeat.[117]

In the second collection of *Nestor* arguments the author of *Sefer Niṣaḥon Yashan* again takes issue with Jesus' divinity. Here, NT traditions are brought to prove that Jesus' own statements indicate

[114] *SNY*, *ibid.*

[115] *SNH*, *ibid.*

[116] Cp. *SNY*, p. 234 and *SNH*, p. 4. See above, n. 70, regarding the use of this *Nestor* material by Jacob ben Reuven. A comparison of the language in the *SNY*, *MH* and *SNH* indicates that the author of *SNY* used *SNH* and not *MH*.

[117] Cp. *SNY*, pp. 234–235 and *SNH*, pp. 1–2.

that he was not divine. Jesus tells Simon Peter that he will pray to save him from the Devil; if he is God, why need he pray? Jesus is depicted as calling himself a prophet; if so, he is not God. Jesus calls himself a messenger; again, this shows that he is only a messenger and not a deity. Quoting Isaiah 42, 1 ff., Jesus calls himself a servant of God; therefore, he is not God. These points are taken directly from *Nestor* with only minor linguistic changes. The compiler of the *Sefer Niṣaḥon* even goes to the extent of incorporating a curious reference from Nestor in which the writer alludes to the "book of Simon".[118]

In addition to these blocks of *Nestor* material, there are a few other passages in the *Sefer Niṣaḥon* which may be paraphrases or abbreviations of points from *Sefer Nestor Hakomer*. In a discussion of the decline of the Jewish kingdom and its subjugation by the Greeks, the author of *Sefer Niṣaḥon* includes the following remark: "כי גם ישו נידון על־פי מלכות יון".[119] This notion of Jesus having been held by the Greeks is in *Nestor*, albeit in a somewhat different context.[120] There is also a comparison of Jesus with Adam in the *Sefer Niṣaḥon*, which could be a rather free rendering of a similar argument in *Nestor*.[121] In these two instances, however, there is not enough detail in the *Sefer Niṣaḥon* versions to enable us to suggest with absolute certainty a reliance on *Nestor*.[122]

[118] Cp. *SNY*, pp. 240–241 and *SNH*, pp. 5–6. Cf. Luke 22, 31–32; Matthew 13, 54–57; Luke 13, 31–33; John 5, 30 (?); Matthew 12, 17.

[119] *SNY*, p. 137.

[120] *SNH*, p. 6.

[121] Cp. *SNY*, top of p. 185, "...ואדם הראשון", and *SNH*, pp. 6–7, "...והגני מבאר".

[122] This criticism seems to reflect an awareness of I Corinthians 15, 45–47. Cf. also Judah Halevi's *Kuzari* I, 95, where the description of Adam as the Son of God appears to be a response to the Christian notion of Jesus as Son of God.

ABBREVIATIONS

BT	Babylonian Talmud.
CE	*Catholic Encyclopedia* (1913).
EJ	*Encyclopedia Judaica* (1971).
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review.*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual.*
IK	M. Perlmann (trans.), *Ibn Kammūna's Examination of the Three Faiths* (Berkeley, 1971).
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature.*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies.*
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.*
MH	Jacob Ben Reuven, *Milḥamot Hashem*, ed. J. Rosenthal (Jerusalem, 1963).
MM	Meir ben Simeon, *Milḥemet Miṣvah*, Parma ms. 2749.
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research.*
PL	J. P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina.*
PT	Palestinian Talmud.
QU	Simeon ben Ṣemaḥ Duran, *Qeshet Umagen* (Jerusalem, 1970).
REJ	Revue des études juives.
SH	Joseph Kimḥi, *Sefer Habrit*, in *Milḥemet Ḥovah* (Constantinople, 1710).
SNH	*Sefer Nestor Hakomer*, ed. A. Berliner (Altona, 1875).
SNY	*Sefer Niṣaḥon Yashan*, in *Tela ignea Satanae*, ed. J. C. Wagenseil (Altdorf, 1681).
SYH	Joseph ben Nathan Official, *Sefer Yosef Hamekane*, ed. J. Rosenthal (Jerusalem, 1970).
VL	*Vikuaḥ Laradaq*, in *Milḥemet Ḥovah* (Constantinople, 1710).

APPENDIX

The following listing of parallel arguments will help to demonstrate the extent of Ibn Kammūna's borrowing from *Sefer Nestor Hakomer*. The parallelism can be seen by comparing the complete arguments. Here, only the beginning of the passage is noted. The translation and pagination of the *Examination of the Three Faiths* are Perlmann's. The pagination of *Nestor* is Berliner's.

Ibn Kammūna	*Nestor*
1. Furthermore, God is..., 86–87.	וחלילה לי לומר..., 1
2. One may say..., 87–88.	ועל אשר אמרת..., 2.
3. One can also say..., 88.	או אומר כי..., 6.
4. And what of the statement..., 88.	הלא דבריו בספר טעותכם..., 4. or שהרי אמר בעון גליון..., 7–8.
5. In the Gospel of Matthew...,88.	וכי גבריאל בא..., 6.
6. Joseph was..., 88.	ועלי להביא עדים..., 11. and ותאמר מרים..., 12.
7. How is it possible..., 89.	ודע לך איך..., 4.
8. It is said..., 89.	הלא תדע כי..., 11.
9. In the Gospel..., 89.	ועוד אמר ישו..., 11.
10. The Gospel says..., 89.	הגידה נא לי..., 12.
11. As for the Cross..., 89.	ועל אותו הצלב..., 8.

(N.B. The remaining arguments in Ibn Kammūna follow in the same order as those in *Nestor*.)

12. A man said..., 89–90.	הלא תדע כאשר..., 8.
13. He said to his disciples..., 90.	וכתיב בעון גליון..., 8–9.
14. Previously..., 90–91.	ואחר הצרה הזאת..., 9.
15. Further, Luke traces..., 91.	ורואה אני עוד..., 9.
16. It was Judas..., 91.	והלא תדע כי..., 9.
17. Part of the torture..., 91.	ויצערוהו ויכריזו..., 9.
18. Yet God says..., 91.	ותמיה אני ממך..., 9.
19. The Jews paraded..., 91–92.	ויציגו היהודים..., 10.
20. You (the Christians)..., 92.	ואיך יתכן להיות..., 10.
21. There is nothing..., 92.	גם מודה בעון גליון..., 10.
22. The books of the prophets..., 92–93.	וכתוב בספר עמוס..., 10.

FROM MESSIANISM TO REALPOLITIK: MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL AND THE READMISSION OF THE JEWS TO ENGLAND

By Ismar Schorsch

Ever since Lucien Wolf's exhaustive study in 1901 of *Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell*, which included a reprint of *The Hope of Israel* (1650), *The Humble Addresses* (1655), and *Vindiciae Judaeorum* (1656), these three pamphlets have been tied inextricably to Menasseh's single-handed effort to reopen England officially to Jewish settlement.[1] Of course, craftsmen like Wolf, Cecil Roth, and Mordecai Wilensky sensed the very tenuous connection between *The Hope of Israel* and the later pamphlets, but the temptation to ignore the problem and to telescope *The Hope of Israel* and *The Humble Addresses* into two stages of a grand diplomatic design to reverse the expulsion of 1290 was irresistible.[2] As a result of their work Menasseh became the author of probably the best-known specimen of midrashic thinking in Jewish history. Basing himself on two biblical passages in Deuteronomy 28:64 (והפיצך ה׳ בכל העמים מקצה הארץ ועד קצה הארץ) and Daniel 12:7 (וככלות נפץ יד עם קדש תכלינה כל אלה), Menasseh proclaimed England as the end of the earth and global dispersion as a messianic precondition.[3] Accordingly, Jewish exlusion from England could be construed as the last identifiable impediment to messianic re-

[1] Lucien Wolf, *Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1901).

[2] Wolf, pp. XXV–XXVI; Mordecai Wilensky, *The Return of the Jews to England* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1944), pp. 36–48; Cecil Roth, *A Life of Menasseh ben Israel* (Philadelphia, 1945), pp. 176–224.

[3] Despite the venerable principle of אין משיבין על הדרש, it should be pointed out that Menasseh understood the verb נפץ in Daniel to mean "dispersed," thus making it analogous to the verb והפיצך in Deuteronomy. The actual meaning, however, in the Piel form of the verb is "smashed." See Francis

demption. But, alas, with each retelling of the readmission story, less attention was given to the genesis and development of this midrash in Menasseh's thought and its precise location in his pamphlets. The unsuspecting reader was left with the distinct impression that the midrash was to be found already in *The Hope of Israel* and that it unquestionably inspired the entire diplomatic enterprise. One example from the innumerable occasions when Roth recounted the story may serve to illustrate the prevailing reconstruction of events.

> It followed (from the aforementioned exegesis) that if they were introduced into the British Isles, the prophesied Dispersion would be completed, and the messianic Deliverance would begin. Under the impetus of this idea, Menasseh produced in 1650 a treatise in Latin, in which he dealt with the recent discoveries and their implications. This he entitled *The Hope of Israel* ('Spes Israelis').[4]

However, a careful reading of *The Hope of Israel* yields some discordant surprises. To begin with, at no point in the tract does Menasseh venture to identify the "end of the earth" with England. The one time he correlates the Deuteronomic phrase with a specific country it is with Portugal, an incredibly inappropriate identification in terms of the regnant historical interpretation.[5] The bald truth is that England is barely mentioned in *The Hope of Israel*.[6] Moreover, the other biblical basis of Menasseh's midrashic con-

Brown, *et al.*, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 658–659. The exact locus of Menasseh's midrash will be discussed anon.

[4] Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England*, 2nd. ed. (Oxford, 1949), p. 155. See also the similiar accounts by Roth in V. D. Lipman, ed., *Three Centuries of Anglo-Jewish History* (Cambridge, 1961), pp. 4 5 and in Cecil Roth, *Essays and Portraits in Anglo-Jewish History* (Philadelphia, 1962), p. 91.

[5] Wolf, p. 48; *Spes Israelis* (Amsterdam, 1650), p. 90; *Esperança de Israel* (Amsterdam, 1650), p. 101.

[6] In the Latin (*Spes Israelis*, p. 86) and English (Wolf, p. 46) once, and in the Spanish (*Esperança de Israel*, pp. 96, 102) twice. On the relationship of these editions, see *infra* note 13.

Latin original and the English translation. According to the prevailing reconstruction, Menasseh had been badgered by several English millenarians as to his views on the veracity of a report submitted a few years before by a Jewish traveler named Antonio de Montezinos on his discovery of a remnant of the Ten Tribes in South America. When Menasseh finally saw fit to respond he carefully divided his answer.[10] On the basis of Montezinos' testimony, he contended that the first inhabitants of America truly came from the Ten Tribes, tall, white, bearded men whose descendants survived to this day. However, he unequivocally rejected the popular notion that the Indians were themselves the progeny of the Ten Tribes. Instead, he preferred to argue that they came to America later, drove the Jewish settlers beyond the mountains "as formerly the Brittaines were driven by the Saxons into Wales," yet borrowed many of their customs.[11] (The reason behind this answer will be explored shortly.) In the dedication Menasseh congratulated Parliament on its successful revolution, alluded to the messianic theme of his tract (to which we shall return), and elliptically expressed the hope that through the dedication "I may gain your favor and good will to our Nation, now scattered almost all over the earth."[12] In their eagerness to make *The Hope of Israel* stage one of Menasseh's readmission diplomacy, historians focused exclusively on this dedication while ignoring the total irrelevance to England of the tract itself.

Furthermore, they failed to reflect on the significance of the fact that Menasseh also prepared a Spanish edition of *The Hope of Israel* which likewise appeared in Amsterdam in 1650 along with the Latin edition.[13] It bore an altogether different dedication:

[10] Wolf, pp. XXIV–XXV; Roth, *Menasseh ben Israel*, pp. 181–186.

[11] Wolf, p. 20; *Spes Israelis*, p. 22. The passage in the Spanish edition appears only at the end of the tract (*Esperança de Israel*, p. 119).

[12] Wolf, pp. 3–4; *Spes Israelis*, n.p.

[13] Graetz was the first to discern that Menasseh had written the *Urschrift* of his tract in Latin. (Graetz, p. 95n.) Both Kayserling and Wolf thought it had been Spanish. (Kayserling, p. 29; Wolf, pp. XXVI, 150-151.) *Cf.* Roth, *Menasseh ben Israel*, p. 331.

Despite a bevy of minor divergences, the Latin and Spanish texts are basically

struct, the universal dispersion allegedly stipulated by Daniel, is applied, as we shall see, to the presence of the descendants of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin in America.[7] In short, the absence of a single reference or even allusion to resettlement in England in the tract itself strongly suggests that during the time that Menasseh composed it he had scarcely conceived of making a Scriptural case on behalf of readmission. It is worth noting in this regard that Menasseh's first biographer, Meyer Kayserling, who waxed eloquent on what he perceived to be the remarkable similarities between Menasseh and Mendelssohn, never connected *The Hope of Israel* with his diplomatic venture.[8]

That connection, which was first put forth by Graetz, then solidified by Wolf, and accepted by everyone since, rests on two pieces of evidence external to the tract itself.[9] The first, of course, is "the epistle dedicatory" to Parliament which accompanied the

[7] Wolf, p. 52; *Spes Israelis*, p. 99; *Esperança de Israel*, p. 111.

[8] Meyer Kayserling, *Menasse Ben Israel. Sein Leben und Wirken* (Berlin, 1861), pp. 29–30. On the comparison between the two men, see Meyer Kayserling, *Sephardim* (Leipzig, 1859; reprinted 1972), pp. 197–200 and *Menasse ben Israel*, p. 30. By 1861, in the wake of criticism by his friend Bernhard Beer, Kayserling curbed his eagerness to find resemblances. (See Beer's letter to Kayserling dated March 16, 1859 in The Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem, v. 894 #2.) Since Kayserling had been working intermittently on Mendelssohn since at least 1855 the comparison seemed to recommend itself.

In his important essay on the readmission, Alfred Stern, 'Menasseh ben Israel et Cromwell" *Revue des Etudes Juives* VI (1882), pp. 96–111, paid no attention to the tracts by Menasseh.

On the unanimous acceptance of Wolf's interpretation, compare the following diverse examples: Simon Dubnow, *Divrei Yemei 'Am 'Olam*, VII (Tel Aviv, 1958), p. 226; Jacob R. Marcus, *The Colonial American Jew 1492–1776*, I (Detroit, 1970), p. 41; Peter Toon, ed., *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel* (London, 1970), pp. 118–119; Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *From Spanish Court to Italian Ghetto* (New York and London, 1971), p. 356; Lynn Glaser, *Indians or Jews? An Introduction to a Reprint of Menasseh ben Israel's "The Hope of Israel"* (Gilroy, California, 1973), pp. 37–38; Antonia Fraser, *Cromwell, The Lord Protector* (New York, 1974), pp. 560–561.

[9] Heinrich Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, X, 3rd. ed. (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 95–96.

to the seven officers of the Amsterdam Kehillah, Talmud Torah. At the very top in Hebrew type, Menasseh inscribed part of the verse from Isaiah 66:1: "He (God) has sent me as a herald of joy to the humble, to bind up the wounded of heart." In the dedication Menasseh explained the title of his book.

> I have titled it מקוה ישראל, The Hope of Israel, deriving the name from chapter 14, verse 8 of Jeremiah, "the hope of Israel, its redeemer." For the only end to which it is directed is to show that this hope in the coming of the Messiah, in which we live, is a difficult though certain reward for the future, because it is based on the absolute promise of the blessed Lord.[14]

the same. The divergences are of several types. In a number of cases the Spanish text, which numbers 126 pages, is fuller than the Latin, which numbers only 111 pages. (Compare, for example, *Esperança*, pp. 23–24 with *Spes*, p. 22; *Esperança*, p. 45–46 with *Spes*, p. 43; *Esperança*, pp. 71–72 with *Spes*, p. 65; *Esperança*, pp. 102–103 with *Spes*, p. 90.) On occasions a section of the Latin text has been shifted to another location in the Spanish edition. (Compare *Spes*, pp. 25–27 with *Esperança*, pp. 44–45.) Sometimes figures became disfigured in translation. Thus in the Latin *Urschrift* Rashi is said to have lived 540 years ago whereas in the Spanish text that number is reduced to 500 years. (*Spes*, p. 63; *Esperanca*, p. 69.) Perhaps the most interesting change is to be found in reference to Menasseh's brief report of the auto-da-fé in 1603 of Diogo da Asunçao, a twenty-four-year-old monk. While the Latin text (p. 87) reads merely "Anno 1603 Lisbonae," the Spanish parallel (p. 97) states "Enel año de 1603 en mi patria Lixboa." The divergence suggests that Menasseh prepared the Spanish version with his own hand. Finally, it should be noted that the 1652 "corrected and amended" second English edition follows the Latin original faithfully, except that it omits every instance of a Hebrew citation.

[14] *Esperança de Israel*, Dedicatoria. In *Spes Israelis*, this paragraph was located in the "Lectori Benevolo." Wolf mistakenly thought that Menasseh had dedicated the Spanish edition "to the Wardens of the Theological School (Talmud Torah)" (p. 150). But the letters "K. K." on the title page can only mean "Kahal Kadosh." Moreover, when the three Sephardic congregations which had sprung up in Amsterdam united in September, 1638, they adopted the name Talmud Torah. Finally, the Haskamot called for a Mahamad of seven officers. (Arnold Wiznitzer, "The Merger Agreement and Regulations of Congregation Talmud Torah of Amsterdam (1638-1639)," *Historia Judaica*,

The real question which should have been posed is why Menasseh went to the expense of preparing and publishing simultaneously two editions of his tract, in different languages with different dedications?[15] This expensive and unusual form of publication can hardly be ascribed to a mere desire to enlarge his readership. It rather signifies a conscious effort to employ a single text to address two distinct audiences with a different message for each.

The second piece of external evidence which induced historians of the readmission drama to posit a political motivation behind *The Hope of Israel* also comes from Menasseh. In 1656 he composed his *Vindiciae Judaeorum* to rebut the main accusations leveled by the opponents of readmission. Toward the end of this *apologia*, whose historical style of argumentation makes it a true harbinger of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literature on behalf of emancipation, Menasseh offered a brief account of the genesis of his diplomatic scheme. Because of its direct bearing on our analysis, we must quote the passage in full.

> And now by this time, I presume (most noble Sir) I may have given abundant satisfaction, (so farre as the nature of an epistle will permit) to all your objections, without giving just ground of offence, or scandall to any. And forasmuch as you are further desirous to know somewhat, concerning the state of this my expedition, and negotiation at present, I shall now onely say, and that briefly, that the communication and correspondence I have held, for some years since, with some eminent persons of *England*, was the first originall of my undertaking this design. For I always found by them, a great probability of obtaining what I now request: whilst they affirmed, that at this time the minds of men stood very

XX (1958), pp. 109 132.) In light of the consolatory message delivered by Menasseh, it is very tempting to suggest that the title of his tract signifies not only hope for Israel but also hope from Israel (that is, Menasseh ben Israel).

[15] While both editions were probably printed by Menasseh's own press, the title page of *Esperança de Israel* says so: "En la Imprension de Semuel Ben Israel Soeiro." (Samuel was Menasseh's younger son.)

well affected towards us; and that our entrance into this Island, would be very acceptable, and well-pleasing unto them. And from this beginning sprang up in me a semblable affection, and desire of obtaining this purpose. For, for seven years on this behalf, I have endeavored, and sollicited it, by letters, and other means, without any intervall. For I conceived, that our universall dispersion was a necessary circumstance, to be fulfilled, before all that shall be accomplished which the Lord hath promised to the people of the Jewes, concerning their restauration, and their returning again into their own land, according to those words *Dan.* 12.7. *When he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished.* As also, that this our scattering, by little, and little, should be amongst all people, from the *one end of the earth even unto the other*; as it is written *Deut.* 28.64. I conceived that by the *end of the earth* might be understood this *Island.* And I knew not, but that the Lord who often works by naturall meanes, might have design'd, and made choice of me, for the bringing about this work. With these proposalls therefore, I applyed my self, in all zealous affection to the *English Nation*, congratulating their glorious liberty which at this day they enjoy, together with their prosperous peace. And I entituled my book named *The hope of Israel*, to the first Parliament, and the Council of State. And withall declared my intentions.[16]

This biographical summation seems to make it unambiguously clear that since 1649 Menasseh had been executing a complicated diplomatic maneuver based on a highly original and fully worked out exegetical inspiration. But we have already observed that while the exegesis is present in *The Hope of Israel*, it is never applied to England. Equally striking is the fact that when Menasseh came to write *The Humble Addresses*, in which he Adopted for the most part a pragmatic approach, he alluded only to the exegetical justi-

[16] Wolf, pp. 143–144.

fication of universal dispersion.[17] The absence of Jews from England left the prophecy of Daniel unfulfilled and the Messiah waiting in the wings. The first time that Menasseh ventured to identify England as "the end of the earth" was in the *Vindiciae Judaeorum*. In fact, it is only in the passage cited from the *Vindiciae Judaeorum*, that both components of Menasseh's messianic midrash are for the first time applied to England. In short, Menasseh's record of applying the parts of his exegetical construct to England piecemeal belies his own valedictory statement of 1656, composed in the heat of battle, in which he too seems to be guilty of having telescoped the evolution of his messianic thought into a single flash of inspiration.

II

The appeal of a good story has often blunted the critical sense of historians to anomalies. In the case of the readmission story, the anomalies went unappreciated because of a reluctance to read the exotic text of *The Hope of Israel* seriously. Wolf was first and foremost a student of Jewish diplomacy. What captured his interest in the readmission story, "the foundation myth" of the modern Jewish community in England, was the evidence of Jewish diplomatic initiative and not the personality of Menasseh ben Israel or the nature of his thought. Indeed, Wolf's first essay on Menasseh in 1888 was so unsympathetic that it drew a public reprimand from Hermann Adler, the Chief Rabbi.[18] Cecil Roth in his important biography of Menasseh also stayed clear of any serious analysis of the substance of his thought. Instead, he emphasized the novelty and drama of his career. Given these biases, it is entirely understandable why the inclusion of *The Hope of*

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

[18] Lucien Wolf, "The Re-settlement of the Jews in England," (Reprinted from *The Jewish Chronicle*, 1888). Adler's address was pointedly titled 'A Homage to Menasseh ben Israel" and was published in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, I (1893-1894), pp. 25–54. On Wolf, see the biographical essay in Lucien Wolf, *Essays in Jewish History*, edited by Cecil Roth (London, 1934), pp. 1–34.

Israel as the opening round of Menasseh's mission should rest solely on external evidence.

The Hope of Israel actually consists of an exploration of two unrelated questions: the whereabouts of the descendants of the Ten Tribes and the time of redemption. Consequently, the structure of Menasseh's tract is basically twofold. Sections 1–21 of the English translation of 1652 explore the fate of the Ten Tribes, while sections 22–36 speculate on the time of redemption. Section 37 which should serve as a summary of what preceded strangely enough summarizes only what was discussed in sections 1–27. (We shall return to this problem.) Finally, sections 38–41 tack on some additional observations on the testimony originally submitted by Montezinos.[19]

In regard to the whereabouts of the Ten Tribes, already Albert Hyamson noted, though failed to explain, the refusal of Menasseh to accept the theory first propounded by the Spanish in the sixteenth century that the Indians in America were descended from the Ten Tribes.[20] The reason for Menasseh's stance on the issue was dictated by the circumstances which compelled him to articulate his views publicly. He spoke out in 1650 not because of

[19] The pagination for these divisions in the three editions is as follows:

	Sections 1–21	*Sections 22–36*
Wolf	17–39	39–53
Spes	15–70	70–102
Esperança	17–77	77–114
	Section 37	*Sections 38–41*
Wolf	53	53–56
Spes	102–103	103–111
Esperança	114–115	115–126

The English arrangement of 41 sections is based on the Latin *Urschrift* which admittedly has only 40 sections, but actually numbers 41, because there are two sections numbered 17 (pp. 48, 56). The Spanish edition was rearranged by Menasseh to number 72 paragraphs to correspond, as he says at the end, to the 72 names of God (p. 126).

[20] Albert M. Hyamson, "The Lost Tribes and the Influence of the Search for them on the Return of the Jews to England," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, original series, XV (1903), p. 668.

the private inquiries of English correspondents, but because the year before he had publicly been placed in a compromising position.

In a turbulent age rife with eschatological hopes among Anglicans and Puritans no less than sectarians, the desire to identify the Indians as Israelites betokened more than idle ethnographic curiosity.[21] If the Indians were truly descendants of the Ten Tribes, then converting them to Christianity became an endeavor fraught with millenarian significance, for since Paul, Christians had awaited the conversion of the Jews as the indispensable prelude to the second coming. That millenarian connection was specifically drawn for the English public in 1649 when it was informed once again of the successful missionary work among the Indians of New England. In that year Edward Winslow, the former governor of Plymouth colony who had returned in 1646, published a pamphlet of four letters from John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew entitled *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England.* In an appendix John Dury, an Anglican minister, former royal chaplain to Princess Mary at the Hague, and since the execution of Charles I a loyal servant of the Commonwealth, spelled out the messianic import of bringing the Gospel to the "Jewish" inhabitants of New England.

> These and the like considerations [i.e. the similiarity in customs] prevaile with me to entertain (at least) a Conjecture, that these Indians in America, may be Jewes (especially of the Ten Tribes). And therefore to hope that the work of Christ among them, may be as a preparatory to his own appearing.[22]

The same nexus between evangelism and millenarianism was

[21] On the diverse forms of the eschatological fervor which stamped the age, see Bryan W. Ball, *A Great Expectation. Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660* (Leiden, 1975).

[22] The pamphlet was republished in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3rd series, IV (Cambridge, 1834), pp. 69–98. The quotation is on p. 95. My attention was drawn to this pamphlet by both Glaser (p. 33) and Ball (p. 108).

made by Winslow in his epistle dedicatory "to the right honourable the Parliament of England and the Council of State."[23] He likewise subscribed to the theory "that these Indians should come from the Stock of Abraham,"[24] and underscored that their conversion seemed to confirm the date "in which many eminent and learned Divines have from Scripture grounds, according to their apprehensions foretold the conversion of the Jews."[25] In order to strengthen the credibility of his American Israelite theory, Winslow brought the opinion of none other than Menasseh ben Israel.

> "...yet let me acquaint your Honors, that a godly Minister of this City writing to Rabbi ben-Israel, a great Dr. of the Jewes, now living at Amsterdam, to know whether after all their labor, travells, and most diligent enquiry, they did yet know what was become of the ten Tribes of Israel? His answer was to this effect, if not in these words, that they were certainly transported into America, and that they had infallible tokens of their being there.[26]

The minister referred to by Winslow can only be John Dury who had added his appendix at the request of Winslow while turning to Menasseh for a copy of the testimony of Montezinos. Dury and Winslow were part of a lobby attempting to secure from Parliament financial backing for the mission to the Indians.[27] To heighten the appeal of their case, they played on the millenarian temper of the age by reviving the American Israelite theory. It is an arresting fact that the pamphlets published in 1647 and 1648 on the first modest efforts to introduce Christianity to the Indians of New England made no reference whatsoever to the possibility of their Israelite ancestry.[28] Since Dury had no hand in the

[23] *Collections*, p. 71.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[27] J. Minton Batten, *John Dury, Advocate of Christian Reunion* (Chicago, 1944), p. 139. See also Ball, pp. 108–109.

[28] The titles were *The Day-Breaking if Not the Sun-Rising of the Gospel*

pamphlets, it is quite likely that the sudden introduction of the American Israelite theory with its millenarian overtones in 1649 derives directly from his initiative. He also was responsible for persuading his friend, Thomas Thorowgood, to dust off and publish his finished manuscript on *Jewes in America*, which appeared in 1650 shortly before Menasseh's Latin edition of *The Hope of Israel* reached England.[29] It should not be overlooked that Thorowgood, who had assembled massive evidence to substantiate the Jewish origins of the American Indians, likewise intoned the eschatological import of bringing them into the fold.

> From the Jewes our faith began,
> To the Gentiles then it ran,
> To the Jewes returne it shall,
> Before the dreadfull end of all.[30]

with the Indians in New England (London, 1647) and *The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel Breaking Forth upon the Indians in New England* (London, 1648). Both pamphlets were republished in the aforementioned volume of *Collections*.

[29] In his *Jewes in America or Probabilities that the Americans are of that Race* (London, 1650), Thorowgood published a letter to him from Dury dated January 27, 1650 titled "An Epistolicall Discourse of Mr. John Dury." It is apparent that Dury's interest was aroused by the letters coming from John Eliot.

> "And then I begun also upon another account, to wonder at the strangenesse of God's conduct over your spirit, that he should have set you a worke twelve or more yeeres agoe, after the search of such a matter, by historicall observations, whereof then so few, and almost no footsteps at all were extant to be traced, and whereof now, of a suddaine, the world is like to be filled with such evidences, that it will be an astonishment to all that shall heare of it, and lay it to heart..." (n.p.)

That Menasseh's tract appeared only after Thorowgood's book is stated clearly by the latter in his second edition, which was in fact not a second edition at all but a new book on the same subject.

> "This learned Jew (Menasseh), soon after the publication of the *Probabilities*, Printed a book in Latine, with the title, Spes Israelis..." (*Jews in America*, 2nd. ed. [London, 1660], p. 28).

[30] Thorowgood (London, 1650), p. 24. See also pp. 20–26. In his "Epistle

The publication of *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel* in 1649, a copy of which Dury no doubt sent to Menasseh, must have caused the latter great consternation, for it drew him into a public forum in which his views were made to serve Christian interests. It makes little difference that from the paraphrase by Winslow it is impossible to ascertain what the specific nature of Menasseh's views might have been. The embarrassing fact was that as a rabbinic official of the Amsterdam Jewish community he could hardly allow his name to be enlisted by Christian missionaries and millenarians. By putting Menasseh in an untenable position, Winslow and Dury forced his hand. He had no choice but to declare his views on the origins of the Indians unequivocally and publicly. In short, we have come to the heart of our thesis: *The Hope of Israel* has nothing to do with Menasseh's later campaign to reverse the expulsion of 1290. He wrote it when he did because the advocates for the propagation of the Gospel to the Indians altered their rhetoric and invoked his views.[31] To undercut their millenarian hopes he rejected the alleged Israelite pedigree of the Indians. Finally, he bore the expense of two editions with separate dedications because the tract was truly written with two audiences in mind. The dedication to Parliament was not politically motivated, but stemmed from the fact that Winslow had mentioned his name

Dedicatory" Thorowgood summarized the basic argument of resemblance with learning and wit.

> "... tis like you will finde in the probabilities so many Judaicall resemblances in America, that as it was said of old, either Plato writes like Philo the Jew, or Philo is become Platonicke; so the Jews did Indianize, or the Indians doe Judaize, for surely they are alike in many, very many remarkable particulars..." (n.p.)

[31] It is, of course, recognized today that the English effort to settle America was nourished with biblical images like paradise, the Garden of Eden, and the wilderness and often fired by messianic impulses. The identification of the Indians as Israelites was a powerful component of this eschatological Gestalt because it brought the second advent still closer. (See Charles L. Sanford, *The Quest for Paradise* [Urbana, Ill., 1961], pp. 74–93 and George H. Williams, *Wilderness and Paradise in Christian Thought* [New York, 1962], pp. 98–113.)

in a pamphlet dedicated to that body. On the other hand, Menasseh dedicated the Spanish edition to the oligarchy of his community to counter any possible criticism resulting from the misuse of his views.

III

What raised *The Hope of Israel* above the level of a mere polemical rejoinder was the fact that Menasseh was able to transcend the issue that dictated it. In truth, he responded in kind, for like his English correspondents who had wedded the American Israelite theory to older millenarian ideas, also Menasseh tried to fuse his rejection of that theory with an older Sephardic argument for the imminence of the messianic age. The outcome was a message of consolation that fully justified the title of the book and the biblical quotation which accompanied the Spanish introduction.

At first Menasseh seemed content to confine himself to the problem of the whereabouts of the Ten Tribes. In his letter to Dury dated November 25, 1649, in which he described the contents of the tract on which he was hard at work, he wrote:

> In this treatise I handle of the first inhabitants of America which I believe were of the ten Tribes; moreover that they are scattered also in other Countries, and that they keep their true Religion, as hoping to returne againe into their Holy Land in due Time.[32]

During the ensuing month, Menasseh suddenly added a messianic motif to his tract which dramatically altered its character. On December 23, 1649 Menasseh again reported to Dury on his progress, this time stressing the messianic direction his work had taken.

> "...and then having shewed with what great honors our Jews have been graced also by severall Princes who professe Christianity. I prove at large, that the day of the promised Messiah

[32] Wolf, p. LXXVIII.

unto us doth draw neer, upon which occasion I explaine many Prophecies."[33]

This sudden enlargement of the scope of the tract appears to dovetail with its twofold structure, on which we have commented earlier. The letter of November 25 corresponds to sections 1–21 which tackle the problem of the Ten Tribes, while the letter of December 23 fully accords with the messianic material introduced in sections 22–36. As we also noted earlier, section 37 is strangely out of place. With its summary of the arguments put forth in sections 1–27, it has the earmarks of an earlier draft dislocated by rewriting. Menasseh appears to have worked in great haste, conceptualizing and writing at the same time, with the result that he superimposed one tract on another. What seems to have happened is that having completed a rough draft on the whereabouts of the Ten Tribes (sections 1–21 and 38–41), Menasseh caught hold of a messianic argument which enabled him to go beyond his ethnographic data to fathom the time of redemption (section 22–36). As the work grew he struggled to integrate the diverse strands of his thought, but, as section 37 indicates, not always with success.

The book which fell into Menasseh's hands during that last month of 1649 and which quickly transformed the character of his tract was the *Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel* by Samuel Usque. Written in Portuguese, Menasseh's mother tongue, this poetic pastoral had been published first in Ferrara in 1553 and again in Amsterdam some time after 1599.[34] In the aftermath of the Spanish disaster, Usque had offered his distraught brethren a theological history suffused with pragmatic consolation. Still more important, it culminated with a messianic consolation based on a completely original piece of historical exegesis. The sudden discovery of Usque's work, which up to 1649 appears to have

[33] *Ibid.* Both passages were brought by Dury in his "Epistological Discourse" to Thorowgood's, *Jews in America*, n.p.

[34] Samuel Usque, *Consolation for the Tribulations of Israel*, translated by Martin A. Cohen (Philadelphia, 1965), pp. 30–32.

exerted no influence on Menasseh, inspired him to revive Usque's messianic exegesis and apply it to a new set of historical circumstances.[35] It is entirely consonant with our analysis that the influence of Usque is restricted precisely to sections 28–36 which we have shown were among the last to be written.

Dependence is a difficult relationship for historians to prove because affinity does not necessarily mean influence. But in our case the evidence is massive and in the decisive instance the affinity cannot be accounted for by a third source. Let us begin with the material that Menasseh shares with Usque but could have drawn from elsewhere. First, Menasseh like Usque applies to the Inquisition the metaphor of a monster, although he does not repeat Usque's terrifying elaboration.[36] Second, he agrees with Usque's inchoate economic theory of medieval anti-Semitism that Jews were assaulted and slain not for their faith or wickedness but for their wealth.[37] Third, both men seek to console by turning a liability into an asset. Dispersion prevents annihilation. When one king-

[35] I have not found any hard evidence of Usque's presence in such earlier works by Menasseh as *The Conciliator*, translated by E. H. Lindo (reprinted Herman Press, N.Y., 1972) or *Of the Term of Life*, translated by Tho. Pocock (London, 1709). In fact in the latter work published in 1639, Menasseh has an extensive explication of Deuteronomy 28, the key biblical text for Usque's messianic midrash, in which there is no trace of Usque's influence. Nor does such influence emerge when he comes to Deut. 30, a passage equally central to Usque's exegesis. The entire historical section in this volume on the fulfillment of biblical prophecies was introduced to confirm the fact of God's foreknowledge and written in the manner of Abravanel and not Usque. (*Of the Term of Life*, pp. 62–95.)

I have likewise not been able to detect the hand of Usque in Menasseh's intriguing messianic finale, *Piedra Gloriosa* (Amsterdam, 1655). That dispersion helped secure Jewish survival (pp. 72–74) was certainly not an idea that originated with Usque (see *infra* note 38).

[36] Wolf, p. 47; *Spes Israelis*, p. 87; *Esperança de Israel*, p. 97; Usque, p. 198.

[37] Wolf, p. 45; *Spes Israelis*, p. 86; *Esperança de Israel*, p. 96. While Usque often contends that Christian envy is the root cause of anti-Semitism (Usque, pp. 168, 177, 185, 192, 198) the significance of the economic factor is also alluded to by Solomon ibn Verga in his *Shevet Yehudah* edited by Ezriel Shoḥet (Jerusalem, 1947), pp. 30, 47, 117–118.

dom expels its Jews another receives them with civility.[38] Finally, both men stress the lesson of history that God punishes those who persecute His people and cite some of the same examples like Sisebut of Spain, King Philip of France, and Prince Don Alphonse of Portugal.[39]

In addition to these affinities, there is one dramatic and incontestable instance of borrowing. The most original aspect of Usque's work was the manner in which he developed the Rabbinic consolation that since God is the ultimate author of the prophecies of doom as well as redemption, the fulfillment of the former serves to confirm the trustworthiness of the latter. Usque ingeniously carried this idea one step further. A careful review of Jewish history makes clear that the prophecies of doom have now been exhausted. There is no calamity foretold in Scripture which has not yet befallen the Jews. Moreover, according to Moses' catalogue of calamities, the last disasters would strike at Jews who lived at the end of the earth. The heart of Usque's messianic consolation is the historical exegesis of Deuteronomy 28:64–67.

> These were the last curses uttered by Moses. You have already suffered all the others, and lately you have suffered these in the Inquisition of Spain and Portugal; these countries are called the end of the earth (as indeed they are), the place where Moses said these curses would be fulfilled. This means that you have run the entire gauntlet of misfortunes, and have reached the end of your tribulations. And since there is no further province for you to go to, your wandering will now end...[40]

As Usque had developed the consolation of R. Akiva, so Menas-

[38] Wolf, p. 50; *Spes Israelis*, p. 96; *Esperança de Israel*, p. 102; Usque, p. 227. The beneficial side of dispersion was already commented on by the author of *Seder Eliyahu Raba*, edited by Meir Ish Shalom, 2nd. ed. (Jerusalem, 1960), pp. 113–114 of the text.

[39] Wolf, p. 51; *Spes Israelis*, p. 97; *Esperança de Israel*, p. 108; Usque, pp. 228–229.

[40] Usque, p. 235–236. See also p. 39.

seh built on Usque.[41] To begin with, Menasseh came close to repeating the consolation that the storehouse of calamities had been emptied.

> We see all the curses of God come to pass, which are mentioned in Leviticus and Deuteronomy; as well as those which concern our being scattered to the ends of the earth (which is Portugall) and those concerning the calamities of the Inquisition...[42]

But far more significant from our point of view is the fact that in his haste, Menasseh preserved Usque's identification of Portugal as the end of the earth. While that identification may still have enjoyed some verisimilitude for a writer sitting in Italy in the middle of the sixteenth century, a century later it signified no more than "a slip of the pen" which pointed to Menasseh's source.[43]

The ultimate value of Usque's exegesis for Menasseh is that through a slight modification it could still be made to yield messianic consolation in 1649. The key to the time of redemption was no longer the fulfillment of all the calamities foretold in Scripture, but the dispersion of the Jews "from one end of the earth unto the other." To explicate that verse in Deuteronomy,

[41] Babylonian Talmud, Makkot 24b.

[42] Wolf, p. 48; *Spes Israelis*, p. 90 (quae est Lusitania); *Esperança de Israel*, p. 101 (que es, Portugal).

[43] Back in the twenties when the young Roth began to study the resettlement episode afresh, he claimed, with evident satisfaction, that the source for Menasseh's identification of England as the end of the earth was to be found in medieval Hebrew literature which had rendered *Angleterre* as קצה הארץ. (*Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, XI [1924-1927], pp. 113-114.) What he failed to notice is that in *The Hope of Israel*, where Menasseh relied on Usque, the area is identified with Portugal. When finally in the *Vindiciae Judaeorum*, Menasseh overtly substituted England for Portugal, it was a lame attempt to salvage a good midrash. Despite many subsequent rehearsals of the same drama, Roth does not appear to have reread Menasseh's tracts seriously. Even more remarkable is the fact that Wilensky, notwithstanding a footnote in which he pointed out that Usque had identified Portugal as the end of the earth, neither caught *Menasseh's* slip nor realized his dependence on Usque (Wilensky, p. 46, n. 5).

Menasseh skillfully exployed a verse from Daniel (12:7) which Usque had never used. Redemption would begin only when the dispersion had come to cover the globe.

> The shortnesse of time (when we beleeve our redemption shall appeare) is confirmed by this, that the Lord hath promised that he will gather the two Tribes, Judah, and Benjamin, out of the foure quarters of the World, calling them Nephussim. From whence you may gather, that for the fulfilling of that, they must be scattered through all the corners of the World; as Daniel saith, Dan. 12:7 "And when the scattering of the holy people shall have an end, all those things shall be fulfilled." And this appeares now to be done, when as our Synagogues are found in America.[44]

But the significance of this passage goes beyond illustrating how Menasseh had updated Usque to formulate a message of messianic consolation for his day. To our astonishment, it relates the precondition of dispersion solely to the descendants of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. Despite a strenuous effort to show the survival of remnants of the Ten Tribes in many parts of the world, Menasseh refrained from regarding that fact as fulfilling the precondition of dispersion. The synagogues in America to which he referred were not the ruins of ancient Israelite sanctuaries, but the houses of worship in Recife and Mauricia opened by his countrymen and presided over by former colleagues like Isaac Aboab da Fonseca and Moses Raphael de Aguilar.[45] Thus Menasseh clearly stopped short of using the subject of the Ten Tribes for messianic purposes and thereby failed to integrate the two themes of his tract.

[44] Wolf, p. 52; *Spes Israelis*, p. 99; *Esperança de Israel*, p. 111.

[45] M. Kayserling, "The Earliest Rabbis and Jewish Writers of America," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, III (1895), 2nd ed., pp. 13–16; Herbert I. Bloom, "A Study of Brazilian Jewish History 1623–1654," *PAJHS*, XXXIII (1934), pp. 55–57. Back in 1640 Menasseh himself had for a time considered relocating to the newly founded Dutch colony in Brazil.

What may have prevented Menasseh from achieving such integration, aside from the speed at which he worked, was a second source on which he relied. The influence of Don Isaac Abravanel, the leading Sephardic theoretician on Messianism, is evident on at least two occasions. First, like Abravanel, Menasseh contends that the descendants of the Ten Tribes did not return to their homeland during the Second Commonwealth.[46] In the context of Abravanel's anti-Christian polemic, this contention was part of a pattern designed to show that the Second Commonwealth failed to terminate the exile created by the destruction of the First Temple and that none of the prophecies of redemption had yet been fulfilled.[47] Second, and more pertinent to our immediate concern, Menasseh followed the distinction made by Abravanel on the basis of Isaiah 11:12.

> He will hold up a signal to the nations
> And assemble the banished of Israel,
> And gather the dispersed of Judah
> From the four corners of the earth.

Whereas the state of banishment is the lot of the Ten Tribes, the fate of universal dispersion is reserved for the remnant of Judah alone in both its Sephardic as well as its Ashkenazic form. In the final analysis, Menasseh may have chosen to rest his case for the imminence of redemption on the dispersion of Judah, despite the structural inelegance which the choice inflicted on his tract, because the experiential nature of the evidence made for a stronger case than the literary evidence on the survival of Israel.[48] The

[46] Wolf, pp. 39–40, *Spes Israelis*, pp. 70–71; *Esperança de Israel*, pp. 77–79. Don Isaac Abravanel, *Commentary on the Bible* (Hebrew), 6 vols. (Jerusalem & Tel Aviv, 1955–1964), III (com. on Numbers and Deut.), pp. 261–272.

[47] Benzion Netanyahu, *Don Isaac Abravanel*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, 1968), pp. 205–216. Gerson D. Cohen, "Esau as Symbol in Early Medieval Thought," in *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, ed. by Alexander Altmann (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), pp. 29–30.

[48] Wolf, p. 41; *Spes Israelis*, p. 74; *Esperança de Israel*, pp. 82–83; Abravanel, VI (com. on later prophets), p. 92. To be sure, Spanish Jewry had long sought to distinguish itself from other descendants of Judah. For example,

end result was two tracts in one, with the treatment of the Ten Tribes meant to douse at least one of the fires fueling English millenarianism and the rehabilitation of Usque intended to stoke the embers of Jewish messianism.

IV

Although in his *Humble Addresses* Menasseh specifically mentions the name of Usque once, it has been common knowledge since the biography by Kayserling that in this overtly political tract Menasseh drew many of his arguments and facts from the brilliant defense of Venetian Jewry and its religion written by Simone Luzzatto in 1638.[49] The *Discorso* offered among other things an astute restatement of the principle of economic utility, which constituted the bedrock of Jewish sufferance in the Middles Ages. In making this argument the heart of his case for readmission, Menasseh cast his appeal to Cromwell, who was always short of funds for his ambitious foreign policy, in a pragmatic and realistic tone that was utterly at variance with the messianic fervor that suffused *The Hope of Israel*.[50] To move from Usque to Luzzatto is to pass from messianism to *Realpolitik*.

Abraham ibn Daud had claimed that the genesis of Spanish Jewry dated from the time of Titus [Gerson D. Cohen, ed., *The Book of Tradition* (Philadelphia, 1967), pp. 79 & 97–98], while Solomon ibn Verga ventured to push it back to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar [Shoḥet, pp. 33–34]. However, I do not think that these traditions constituted the basis of Menasseh's view, for uppermost in his mind at this juncture was not the alleged aristocratic ancestry of Spanish Jewry, but rather the contemporary global dispersion of all surviving remnants of Judah.

[49] Wolf, p. 99. The reference was spotted first by Kayserling, p. 92. Menasseh appears to have borrowed the metaphor "corralled them like sheep" (*cf.* Usque, p. 203). Menasseh's utilization of material from Luzzatto for his Humble Addresses was first noticed by Kayserling, pp. 67, 71, 73, 76, 78, 82. Wilensky showed subsequently that the dependence went well beyond the historical data detected by Kayserling (Wilensky, pp. 93–102). As for the *Discorso* itself, see the Hebrew edition prepared by Dan Lattes, *et al.* (Jerusalem, 1951).

[50] Luzzatto, pp. 78–102; Wolf, pp. 78–89. On the possible economic motives behind Cromwell's interest in resettling Jews in England, see Don Patinkin,

Still, a good piece of exegesis dies hard and Menasseh briefly transposed his interpretation of Daniel 12:7 to apply to England.[51] But in the transfer, its function changed. In *The Hope of Israel*, with the dispersion complete, Menasseh's exegesis served as a source of Jewish consolation; in *The Humble Addresses*, with the dispersion still incomplete, it became, albeit not very convincingly, the justification for political action. The irony is that Menasseh's refurbished messianic midrash ultimately gave birth to a modern historical midrash.

"Mercantilism and the Readmission of the Jews to England," *Jewish Social Studies*, VIII (1946), pp. 161-178; Menna Prestwich, "Diplomacy and Trade in the Protectorate," *The Journal of Modern History*, XXII (1950), p. 116.

[51] Wolf, p. 79.

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